Agreeing to Disagree *Raymond Aron*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

June 1, 1963, 35 cents

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Kennedy's Record

Seymour Harris Challenges the Liberals

Gunboats on the Raritan

James Ridgeway

A Night in the Brig

Robert Brustein

Lewis Mumford

Wolf Von Eckardt

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Cooper's Prayer

★ We admit we cringed when US Astronaut Maj. Gordon Cooper began reading his flight prayer to the joint session of Congress. The slow-spoken young man entered briskly, in a kind of lope, and the immense chamber turned pink with applauding hands. We looked down over his shoulder from the gallery; the self-possessed Oklahoman, with his hillbilly drawl, was speaking from notes, without text.

In sophisticated society the polite thing is, if one prays, to keep such embarrassingly intimate matters to oneself. To dictate a prayer to a tape recorder over the Indian Ocean, on the 17th orbit, lends itself to caricature, but it was a simple and natural act for Major Cooper. Perhaps it revealed the source of composure that enabled him to take over the manual controls when automatic devices failed. His flight fell on the anniversary of Lindbergh's lonely trip to Paris, who carried with him, you remember, a letter of introduction to the Ambassador. Major Cooper, it occurred to us, carried with him a letter of introduction to God.

The Helped and the Helpless

★ The wheat farmers have rejected the Administration control program and, as one exasperated city consumer, TRB hopes there will be dollar wheat, and a monstrous surplus that the leaders of the American Farm Bureau Federation will have to eat. We hope JFK won't lift a finger to bail the wheat-growers out, but we aren't too optimistic. As Republican Senator Tower of Texas remarks gloatingly, the result points to "more freedom throughout our national life," and Rep. Quie (R, Minn.) confidently predicts that "political pressure" will force the Administration to agree to price support in return for a mild acreage cut – such a cut as has invariably proved ineffective before.

Personally we could almost agree to a farm subsidy if the farm leaders would stop piously denouncing the government for giving it to them. But no, that won't do, they have got to take the handout loftily and pretend all the time that they are the spokesmen for "free enterprise."

The funny thing is that the people JFK tries to conciliate, business and farmers, are the ones who kick him in the teeth. The people who don't get federal assistance are the weak and helpless, the unemployed and the Negro. Leadership for civil rights has come mostly from the judiciary, not from an indifferent Congress or a bystander executive, which didn't lift a finger in the Senate anti-filibuster fight.

The Administration has allowed such a mess to develop that children in Alabama are being expelled from school because they joined a freedom parade; Negro leaders' homes are shot up or dynamited, and gradualists are threatened by a Negro fascist group, the Black Muslims. If somebody said "Democracy" in a Birmingham movie theater today half the audience would be killed in the stampede for the exits. Change has got to come faster. If it doesn't come by law it will by force.

What Words Mean

★ Semantics and religion are always fascinating. Right after the Supreme Court ruled against compulsory public school prayers in New York we heard an attractive Presbyterian upstate minister, who had evidently never read the decision, preach that it "put God out of the schools." Now we notice, the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church has voted against public school prayers as tending toward "indoctrination or meaningless ritual, and should be omitted for both reasons."

As to semantics, we are struck by the difficulty over that horrid word "socialist." In the US it is all right to have a mixed economy, and to let the state undertake many public functions some of which compete with private business, but they must never on any account be acknowledged to be "socialistic." Mr. Kennedy at Muscle Shoals last week ran true to form; he twitted Gen. Eisenhower for having called TVA "creeping socialism." We must make it clear to all, he continued, "that TVA is a fitting *answer* to socialism."

Well, what is TVA? According to our copy of that excellent two-volume history, *Growth of the American Republic,* by professors Sam Morison and Henry Steele Commager, TVA represented "a candid acceptance of socialism in the realm of public utilities and a commitment to the experiment of a planned economy." We don't say socialism is good; we just say TVA *is* socialism, and we think in this instance it is splendid. We think, in fairness, Gen. Eisenhower was right in calling it "socialism," and his successor wrong in denying it. If America could just get over its fear of the nightmare word and look at any proposed undertaking on its merits alone, then life would be easier, and we would not be such an enigma to our contemporaries abroad.

Would You Go to Jail?

★ We look forward with a good deal of interest to a book McGraw-Hill is publishing June 3, the autobiography of the pacifist Willard Uphaus, who went to New Hampshire's Boscawan Jail for a year at 69 on a matter of conscience. New Hampshire is the state that has just adopted a race-horse lottery to finance its treasury, and it is not always easy to understand, but it jailed Uphaus, after he lost a 5-4 Supreme Court appeal, because he would not name the persons who had visited his World Fellowship summer camp. Would you go to jail for that? Would I? I don't know. Mr. Justice Black in his dissenting opinion wrote that history would look with no more favor upon the imprisonment of Uphaus than it did on John Bunyan: the grounds urged for the imprisonment, he said, were "precisely those that have always been urged for throwing dissenters in jail, namely that they are a menace to the country and it is dangerous to leave them free."

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Kennedy as Target

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Seymour Harris, professor at Harvard, friend and counselor of this Administration and author of more than 40 books on economics, rebukes liberals in this issue of *The New Republic* for showing too little appreciation of the President's accomplishments. He asserts that of all Presidents, this one alone has "learned the lesson of modern economics," that he cannot understand "why so many liberals continue to say that the President does not try hard enough," and that contrary to the opinion of some, Mr. Kennedy "has been willing to lead . . . and at times by a considerable distance." These remarks are addressed, of course, not simply to critical comments on the Administration in *The New Republic*, but to wider evidence of a mid-term sag in morale. Mr. Reston of *The New York Times* last week hoped that the White House would begin to give more attention to pressing domestic problems. Mr. Lippmann two weeks earlier saw as one of Mr. Kennedy's main defects the fact that "he does not want to be unpopular anywhere, with anyone." In early May, the Americans for Democratic Action, in a call to its annual convention, charged that "the record of the Kennedy Administration so far has been one of accommodation to its critics from the Right." And Herblock, under the caption, "Great Debate," recently portrayed Candidate Kennedy of 1960 challenging President Kennedy in 1963 to make more use of Presidential power. What is missing, many feel, is the smell of battle, the high drama of great forces contending for great stakes. On the balance scale of judgment, how heavily should such criticisms weigh?

Defining and redefining one's attitude toward this Administration is the never-ending task of not only commentators in Washington but of every public-minded citizen. We go on thinking it proper for a journal such as *The New Republic* to describe the blemishes, to demand the ideal, in part because such criticism helps counterbalance pressures from the Right, which are uninhibited in their condemnation of Kennedy – any Kennedy! But there is a less devious and more compelling reason for maintaining a critical attitude toward public officials, and that is that there is so much to criticize.

In general, the Kennedy performance is less impressive than the Kennedy style. For example, the admirable goal of the Alliance for Progress (in effect, US sponsorship of a peaceful social revolution) has been compromised by the Administration's reluctance to tangle with influential business and property interests, both North and South

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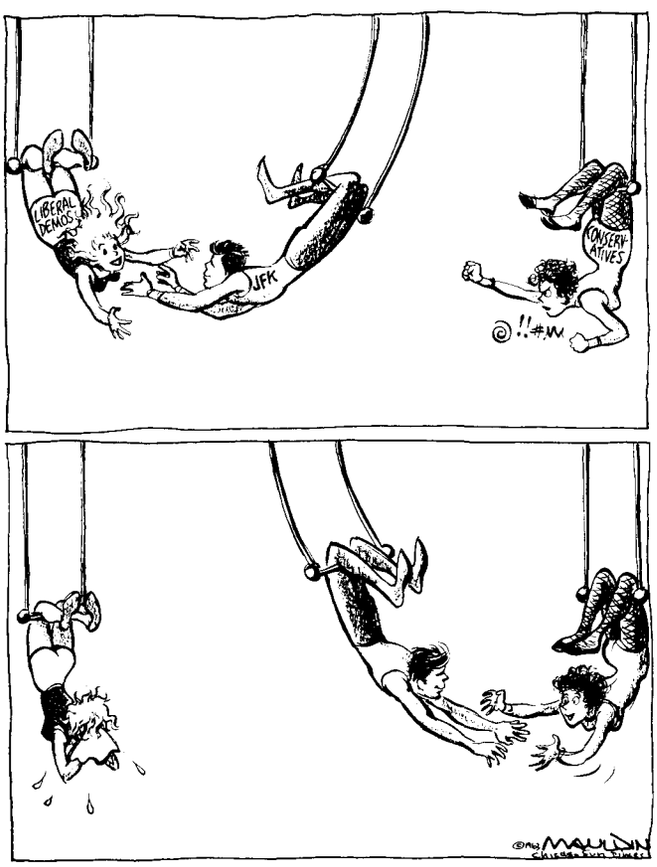
American. The well-to-do, here and in Latin America, want no social revolution; they fear Communism, but the alternative of socialist-nationalist revolutions frightens them almost as much. In Asia, the Administration has broken no new ground. It works very hard to cultivate close ties with Japan and India; but in the former instance it weakens that tie by discriminatory restrictions on Japanese goods and by pressuring the Japanese, against their will and their economic interest, to refrain from trade with Communist China. And in the case of India, yielding to business pressures in the US, the Administration appoints a commission to review our foreign aid policies which advises Congress to cut aid and to refrain from helping finance state-owned enterprises such as the steel mill which the Indians wish to build in Bokaro. President Kennedy clings also to Eisenhower's bankrupt no-China policy and to a strangling alliance with Diem in Vietnam. In Europe, unable to march with France or without it, the Administration marks time. Unable to retain America's nuclear monopoly or to give it up, the Administration invents gimmicks that pretend to do both. And the New Frontier's most touted legislative "victory" – the Trade Expansion Act – shrinks in significance with each passing day.

By cutting taxes and not cutting non-defense expenditures too sharply, the White House is counting on "recovery" continuing long enough to see us through the '64 elections. But Kennedy has yet to recommend the kind of measures that could bring about buoyant economic growth, full employment and a rational allocation of resources. The young and the old become more numerous, but where are the ambitious plans for the kind of education – for whites and Negroes – which will equip new generations to live and work happily in an automated age; and where is the campaign for that comprehensive system of medical care that our wealth and knowledge have made possible?



This discrepancy between intentions and actions, needs and remedies, has been explained, if not justified, by references to the limits on Presidential power. Thus, the President's Special Assistant, Theodore Sorensen, in a lecture at Columbia University last April, emphasized that "no President is free to go as far or as fast as his advisers, his politics and his perspective may direct him." A Presidential adviser is understandably impatient with those who say "you must," when he is sure "we can't." Yet the Presidency *is* a force that can, when the occasion demands it, transform public opinion, mobilize energies for programs in which the President earnestly and passionately believes and whose importance he is determined to convey to the country.

Having said this, we confess to a dilemma. This Administration annoys the progressive-minded because it is so much theirs. They could talk about the Eisenhower Administration, but never to it. To speak to the policies of General Eisenhower was to address themselves to a void; there was a gulf of at least a generation between Eisenhower and progressive America. But with Kennedy, the liberal critic lives in a state of tension; he can neither embrace it with love, nor reject it. One may say that there is more brain-power than will-power in the White House, that the President compromises too soon and too much, that he gives too much thought to the politics of re-election, that he favors his enemies more than his friends. And yet, in sober moments, the critic has to acknowledge some mitigating truths.

First, what is the President to do about legislative leaders who have not yet caught up with the '30's, not to mention the '60's? There is no way of getting around the fact that sensible national planning and a humane concern for the least privileged are blocked at every turn by a reactionary oligarchy which occupies the commanding heights on Capitol Hill. Those heights can now be stormed by modern men only very occasionally. The answer is to reform the procedures of the Congress, but here, as Mr. Sorensen correctly says, the power of the President *is* very limited. Second, there is the mitigating fact that the President, in his public statements and in private conversations, shows that he does know the score. If he pushes less hard than his liberal critics think he could, he knows more about what should be done than any national leader from whom

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one hears these days.

While we share Mr. Lippmann's view that Kennedy may be too awed by the narrowness of his majority and the strength of his opponents, leading him to retreat when he should advance, we must add that a President will not be finally judged by the voters or history because of the grandiloquence of his pronouncements or the reach of his aspirations. He will be judged on what he is able to accomplish, and this Administration *is* operating within narrow limits of consent. We *are* in a period of close division. That may change in 1964, but as of now there is no clear Congressional majority or popular mandate for welfare spending or for any radical change in foreign policy.

Finally, any temptation to downgrade the Kennedy Administration is tempered by the knowledge that many of the nation's problems, if not intractable, are at least not amendable to easy solution – even given a strong determination by the President, Congress and the public to solve them. In foreign affairs, for all the talk about "leadership of the free world," even the free world is not America's oyster. And in this country, it is going to take a great many years for the public and its elected representatives to face up to the implications of the scientific and technical revolution that has occurred so swiftly on our farms and in our cities. In such a period of transition and danger, it is natural to vent one's frustration on the one symbol of national leadership we have – the President. He bears not only the burden of accomplishment, but the burden of our anxieties and our disappointments.

Rights of Teachers

Although college professors, regional accreditation agencies, state departments of education and even state legislatures have for years made sporadic protests about the way local school boards choose to run "their" school systems, these boards remain a popular, almost sacrosanct, symbol of democracy. Teachers and others who have thought that these boards were behind the times have turned to state legislatures for relief, either in the form of coercive legislation or in the form of seductive subsidies. In most states the legislature has been willing to grant some of these appeals, laying down the law about who can and cannot be hired, what can and cannot be taught, and what minimal standards will be exacted in return for state aid. But because most legislatures, like school boards, are composed of civic leaders familiar with local rather than wider needs – observers with a broader perspective have remained dissatisfied. Some have turned hopefully to Congress; others have argued that the teachers themselves would have to take matters in hand. But because the giant National Education Association was dominated by administrators and was convinced for this and other reasons that local boards of education were the incarnation of Jeffersonian wisdom, teachers have rarely been willing to use coercion when persuasion failed.

Last year, however, the NEA finally began to perk up. Its tiny rival, the American Federation of Teachers (an AFL-CIO affiliate distinguished from the NEA mainly by its willingness to strike when employers proved obstinate), had used a series of strikes to win recognition as the bargaining agent for New York City's 40,000 teachers, and the NEA feared inroads in other communities where teachers are sufficiently sophisticated to realize that respectability is no substitute for power. So the NEA approved a program of "professional sanctions" to be used when necessary.

The first test came last year at Little Lake, California, a district which the militant California Teacher's Association had already sought to blacklist because the local board tried to run it like a piece of corporate property. Resignations and blacklisting hurt Little Lake badly at first, but then the district got national publicity and many teachers eager to move to California wrote Little Lake seeking jobs. All vacancies were filled when school opened in September. The teachers then took a new tack, asking Little Lake voters to eject two of the most offensive board members. The voters obliged last April.

The next test for sanctions will come in Utah, where the Republican Governor has refused to accept the $24 million spending proposals for education of an official commission. The Governor asked for and got only $12 million from the legislature (*NR*, April 13). Utah teachers have voted overwhelmingly not to renew their contracts for next year unless the Governor recants, which he shows no signs of doing.

If the teachers close the schools and win the right to negotiate with the state on the terms under which they will be reopened, the school boards' freedom of deci-

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer months, The New Republic will not appear on:

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sion would be reduced in much the same way as corporate power has been limited by the unions' right to strike. Nor was this fact lost on the National Association of School Boards when it met last month in Denver. After hearing half a dozen speeches on the Utah situation and discussing the matter interminably, the NASB asserted once again that local authority over schools and teachers was "established by law" and "may not be delegated to others." Endorsing the position of the Governor and the Utah School Boards Association, the NASB resolved that, "The Governor and the people of Utah should continue to resist those actions and pressures which would deprive school boards of the legal responsibilities that have proven basic to the educational welfare of children."

However, one incidental fact seems to have been ignored: the Utah School Boards Association itself confessed the inability of the local boards to run their schools when it joined last year in the report urging that the state legislature spend $24 million to solve Utah's school problems. Local authorities, it was evidently felt, could not or would not provide the money.

Local control over education, then, is not even at issue in Utah. The only issue is whether state control should be tempered by the needs and desires of teachers as well as the opinion of local school boards.

Farmers Say No

About half of all American farmers, large and small, have planted wheat in recent years or are producing it this season. They have a claim for protection under the price-support laws that originated in the late Thirties and have been kept up ever since. Although on occasions wheat farmers expressed strong disappointment with the support prices offered them in the 13 wheat referendums that have been held since 1941, they always voted *yes* – until last week.

The reason for the overwhelming defeat of the Administration's new program for wheat, and with it the growers' claim for protection, is that the Administration had proposed something new. Instead of limiting the amount of land on which each wheat farmer would be allowed to grow a crop for a protected price, the actual number of bushels eligible for such support would be counted and certified; he would be unable to prime a fixed acreage with fertilizer and other growth stimulants and then sell the entire yield at the supported price. Farmers saw in this procedure a rigid limitation on their capacity to improve their performance as entrepreneurs, and they voted solidly like small businessmen who always favor protection – if it does not interfere with their capacity to enlarge their operations.

As Rep. Harold D. Cooley, Chairman of the House Agriculture Committee said on hearing the news, "The wheat farmers are now free to plant the whole face of the earth in wheat, at prices one-third to one-half below the prices provided by the program they rejected." Although the Congressman exaggerates, his main point is sound. They can plant all they choose. But will they? Nobody has discussed what it actually costs a professional farmer in a good wheat area to produce a bushel of the grain. There are cost records as low as 75 cents a bushel, but those are exceptional. The average cost for good wheat farmers in good areas is somewhere between 90 and 95 cents. Since this is less than half the guaranteed price ($2) that was offered by the Administration on a limited amount of their crop (and rejected), and will yield profits on the order of five cents a bushel, they may tire of such small returns. When the time for another wheat referendum on the same terms arrives next year, they may well be ready to vote for a 100 percent markup in wheat prices and check their ballots accordingly: *Yes* for Freemen.

"Communist Merchandise"

A letter from a subscriber inquiring about recent developments in the right-wing drive to scare merchants who display consumer goods imported from Communist countries has led to the discovery that this movement has taken a new turn. The old procedure of labeling-by-stealth has been dwindling since Bullock's, a large California department-store chain, brought suit for $3 million in damages late last year against a group suspected of tagging its wares with "Communist Merchandise" stickers and cards. Although the suit was settled out of court in January, the surreptitious boycotters apparently were frightened off.

The new tack taken by these people is entirely legal – until the higher courts rule otherwise. They have been successful in pushing a type of anti-Communist licensing ordinance through the municipal councils of some of our cities with so little fuss that the development has been so far unrecorded in the press.

A Columbus, Ohio, ordinance, passed March 4, is typical. It provides that, "No person, knowingly offering for sale Communist manufactured or processed goods, shall fail to display, in a place conspicuous to customers, a sign containing in prominent letters not less than five (5) inches in height the words 'Communist Manufactured or Processed Goods Sold Here'.

"No person shall knowingly offer [such] goods without obtaining a license therefor.

"Each application for license shall be accompanied by a license fee of One Hundred Dollars ($100) . . . [and] such licensee shall post or cause to be displayed . . . the license stating that the place of business [has a]

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'License to Sell Communist Manufactured or Processed Goods'."

In conclusion the Columbus, Ohio, ordinance provides penalties of up to $500 in fines and imprisonment for as long as six months and, to turn the screw tighter, states that any violation shall constitute a separate offense on each successive day it is continued. Thus, in theory, a violator could be jailed for three years if he offered merchandise imported from a Communist country for sale for one week without first obtaining a license and putting up a big sign – in addition to displaying the license itself.

Seven cities have adopted comparable ordinances. The Columbus ordinance is on the low side; others call for the payment of $1,000 per annum for a permit to sell such merchandise within the city limits. In addition to Columbus, Ohio, ordinances of this type have been adopted by Columbus, Georgia; Billings, Montana; Newport, Kentucky; Birmingham, Alabama, as well as two other cities in the same state, Montgomery and Phenix City. Altogether, well over a million people are now living under this kind of legislation.

The 10th Section of the First Article of the Constitution says: "No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress." There is another clause in Section 8 of the same Article which makes it altogether likely that these local ordinances are unconstitutional. But it will take a long climb up the judicial ladder to the Supreme Court to prove this.

Marine Justice

We reported several weeks ago on the odd behavior of the US Marine Corps in giving honorable discharges to officers said to be responsible for the murder of a Cuban civilian at the Guantanamo base, and its subsequent hauling up for official questioning of Col. Robert Heinl on charges that he failed to submit for advance clearance to Marine authorities an article critical of Haiti – though permission to write the article had been given by the responsible Navy officer, and though permission to publish it was finally refused by the Pentagon and the article never appeared. We can now report that Colonel Heinl, former chief of the US naval mission to Haiti, has been "administratively censured – a nonpunitive corrective measure." The Corps has had nothing to say and no reprimands to hand out in the case of the killing at Guantanamo. Why not?

The Thresher Inquiry

The search for the *Thresher* has moved into a new and faintly hopeful stage with the discovery of a mass of debris 8,400 feet down, 220 miles east of Boston. The debris is dense enough to be a submarine, but beyond that nothing conclusive has been established.

Without knowing any of the operating characteristics of nuclear submarines, it is easy to surmise that since the *Thresher* was diving beyond the continental shelf, its test depth was many times that of World War II subs that reached depths of 400 feet – depths which give rise to pressures that could squash a space capsule like an egg. The ability of the *Thresher* to reach such depths, of course, is a credit to research and development done by and for the Navy. At the same time, the disaster points up the imbalance of funding between nuclear sub development and allied fields of oceanography.

The last frontier on Earth, termed "Inner Space" by trade journalists, has only begun to be explored. Even the fabulous nuclear submarine operates in a very narrow strata of the ocean's depths. "It is a wonder," says a designer of the nuclear sub, "that the Navy has had so few accidents. These vessels are constantly operating where man has never before been. It has been my own feeling that if anything ever happened to one of these submarines, we would never find out what happened to it, because we haven't developed other kinds of deep sea capabilities."

To indicate the degree of imbalance in expenditures, one need only look at the nearly $11 billion that the government is spending this year for research and development. One hundred and twenty-five million of this total is going for oceanographic research – an amount only a fraction of which was spent to develop a nuclear submarine – and it is spread thin between the Arctic and Antarctic, between the East and West coasts. Yet this $125 million is twice what it was two years ago. Mostly through the Navy, these meager subsidies support several oceanographic research centers: Woods Hole, which surveys the ocean and life in it; Columbia University's Hudson Laboratories, which concentrates on anti-submarine warfare; and the Naval Biological Laboratory and Scripps in California. Any remaining money goes to projects like Moho, an attempt in the Pacific Ocean to drill through the Earth's crust.

Locating the *Thresher* is extraordinarily difficult. Even narrowed to a 10-square-mile area, conventional sonar is not applicable to the task, however well it can detect a moving craft many more miles away. A Woods Hole research vessel has been called in, equipped with a device called a pinger, a sonar-like instrument which in its latest form of development can differentiate objects down to six inches in size. The pinger was devel-

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oped by Professor Harold E. Edgerton of MIT, without federal support. It is meant primarily for charting the ocean bottom and sub-bottom, providing a chart of what it sees that looks something like an X-Ray photograph. Whether this device has been successfully applied here remains to be discovered. The pinger has limitations; it merely receives echoes from the bottom or sub-bottom. A vertical rock, for instance, scatters the sound waves and provides no echo for the pinger receiver. Sand, by contrast, tends to absorb the sonar beams. If the *Thresher* is lodged among irregular rocks or in a sandy area, the chances of locating it through the best electronic devices are remote.

The bathyscaph is not a search vessel and will be used only if and when the *Thresher* or a likeness of it is identified. Even then, the bathyscaph will have no easy time surveying the lost sub. Beyond a few hundred feet depth, the ocean is a black expanse. Theoretically the most powerful searchlight underwater can only approach a range of 60 feet. To see the *Thresher*, the bathyscaph would have to be close up, which might not be possible if the *Thresher* is lodged in rocks or buried by the debris of centuries. Here, normal black light, photographic, and X-Ray techniques are useless. Proposals have been made to use underwater and television cameras to scan the depths. Using a TV camera is probably the least practical of all methods; no TV camera has been made to withstand pressures of 3,500 pounds per square inch, which is what it is at the *Thresher's* depth; and even if there were such a camera, there has never been a TV cable made that could hold up under these pressures.

Professor Edgerton's cameras are good as far as they go, and to his cameras and pinger go the credit for locating the debris now being examined. He has taken beautiful photographs of marine life at depths of 25,000 feet. But the objects are always within a few feet of the lens. No one has yet undertaken the development of an underwater lens, though the government could make good use of one for military purposes. Indeed, federal research and development programs have ignored the whole field of optics. A lens system for underwater would have to be special in several ways. It would have to be like a pair of night glasses, which have great light-gathering power. This would enable the lens to be efficient in almost pitch blackness. It would have to be designed to take advantage of the density of water, plus self-correcting for the distortion due to water.

There is nothing new in the need for research of this type. Oceanography is an area that scientists have long begged the government to sponsor more generously. They have been ignored because the results of such studies are either less than spectacular or seem to have little practical application. It is a bitter experience for oceanographers to see $11 billion spent on R&D, for such things as developing search radar that can spot copper needles more than a thousand miles in space, and so little spent to develop equipment for spotting an object several hundred feet long only a few thousand feet in inner space. F. N. KARMATZ

THE MOST VITAL PROBLEM BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS

Paying the Bill for Peace

United Nations

The public and Congress would undoubtedly view the whole matter of financing the United Nations more objectively were they told that while the US is the major contributor, it gets back more money than it pours into the organization. At a conservative estimate, $82 million accrues annually to the American economy as a direct result of the location of UN Headquarters in New York. This is slightly more than US assessments for the UN's regular budget and the peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and the Congo combined. While this country recoups indirectly all that it invests, other member states, such as the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, spend between $1.5 million and $2 million for their mission staffs. The Soviet Union will this year, in spite of its refusal to pay any share of the costs of servicing UN bonds and other items it considers "unlawfully" voted by the General Assembly, contribute over $12 million to the regular budget and the United Kingdom nearly $6 million. Great Britain also contributes generously to the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations.

Last December, U Thant warned that "a financially bankrupt United Nations would be an ineffective United Nations, if indeed it could survive on such a basis." Two weeks ago, he repeated that fiscal solvency is "perhaps *the* most vital [problem] before the UN."

The regular budget, about $80 million this year, is being met, even though a number of countries are

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slow in paying up. Less than $6 million is still due for 1962, of which Nationalist China is responsible for half. Over a half million dollars is owed from 1961, almost all of it by Latin American countries. No country owes the UN anything for 1960 and 1959, except Haiti ($21,000).

It's the peace-keeping operations which have depleted the UN treasury and which are the special concern of the current special session of the General Assembly. By the end of June, 1962, member states owed the organization over $72 million for the Congo account, of which well over one-half was due from the Soviet Union and the other Communist countries, $14 million from France, nearly $6 million from Nationalist China and nearly $3 million from Belgium. Another $27 million is owed, mostly by the Communist and the Arab countries, to the UN Emergency Force account. That makes a total of some $100 million. The UN expects to pay most of the expenses incurred in the Congo during fiscal year July 1962-July 1963 out of proceeds of a special bond issue; it needs, however, nearly another $43 million to pay emergency expenses during the second half of the current year. What plagues the Secretary-General, therefore, is how to collect the $100 million arrears on the two peace-keeping operations.

The US is particularly anxious to find a way of keeping the UN going to the end of the year, by which time the Congo operation is scheduled to be completed, without making binding engagements to finance future peace-keeping operations. Most countries, however, would prefer to set up a system now that is valid for the future. Here views are sharply divided. The Assembly last year accepted the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice which established that the costs of the Middle East and Congo undertakings assessed by the Assembly against member states were expenses of the organization itself. Accordingly, a majority of countries, including the US, holds that the Assembly, and not the Security Council, is the appropriate body to apportion the expenses of these peace-keeping missions among member states, and that such apportionment by the General Assembly creates binding legal obligations.

The Soviet Union disagrees. It not only refuses to help support these special operations but has announced it will not pay its share for five items in the *regular* 1963 budget with which it is not in sympathy.

A number of small countries feel that since only the great powers can threaten the peace, the great powers should do most of the paying when trouble develops anywhere. The Congo, Laos and the Middle East, in their view, are threats to the peace only to the extent that the great powers interfere in the pursuit of Cold War aims. Accordingly a group of Latin American, Asian and African countries has proposed that should expenses of future peace-keeping efforts total more than $5 million yearly, the following general principles should apply: the permanent members of the Security Council should bear the greater burden, since theirs is the primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security; developed member states are more capable economically and financially of meeting unanticipated, heavy expenses, while developing member states are less capable.

A compromise between the US and the developing countries has been suggested by the British, who propose that an initial amount of no more than $10 million per operation should be apportioned in accordance with the scale of assessment applicable to the regular budget. For the balance of the costs, the regular scale should be modified by halving the assessment of the underdeveloped countries; the deficit would be made up by voluntary contributions by the developed countries. The United States considers this proposal "worth a careful study."

All these divergent views preview the kind of difficulties the UN would face were it again to undertake any vast operation to keep the peace. U Thant intervened vigorously in the Congo only because the US supported him and the Soviet Union did not oppose him. He will undoubtedly insist on the agreement, or at least on the non-opposition, of the two super-powers in any future operations, in which case the whole debate on financing – whether the initiative rests with the General Assembly or the Security Council – would become largely academic. Otherwise, being more practical than his predecessor, U Thant may insist on knowing in advance where the money will come from.

The Secretary-General has proved himself very cautious in these matters. In recent months, the UN has intervened directly in West Irian to act as caretaker while sovereignty was being transferred from the Netherlands to Indonesia, but the two countries paid all expenses – a healthy precedent. The UN has also established a presence in Yemen to supervise the withdrawal of Egyptian troops and non-interference by Saudi-Arabia. That operation, a relatively inexpensive one, will presumably be paid for out of the regular budget.

The tendency, and wisely so, is to limit UN commitments as much as possible, for there is no better way to avoid bankruptcy. In the event of a major crisis next month or next year, the organization would be paralyzed unless both the US and the Soviet Union agreed to cooperate, or at least not to obstruct. U Thant understands that. To think anything else would be to risk wrecking the organization; and in that event, it would make very little difference where the money came from.

MARIO ROSSI

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FOREIGN REPORTS

HAITI: *The Perón of Voodooism*

★ The situation in Haiti, with which the OAS is concerning itself, more or less, is too complex to be summed up in a few catchwords such as dictatorship, personal tyranny, militarism. Nor can François Duvalier himself be relegated entirely to the category of the paranoiacs, the corrupt. These elements are indeed present in the country and in the man; but there is something else too. Unless this is known, it is impossible to understand what is happening or what may happen in this first Latin American republic to obtain its independence, the first to abolish slavery, and also the first to aid the Hispano-Americans when the latter suffered the first reverses in their struggle against Spain.

No one can say with certainty whether, five years ago, after the downfall of the dictator Magloire, Duvalier won an honest victory at the polls or whether he seized it ruthlessly from his opponents, as the latter assert. What we do know is that before Duvalier, the political activity of the island centered about small personalist parties and around intrigues within the governing clique (often mulatto, sometimes black – for the Haitians and especially the small middle class have an almost unhealthy consciousness of "color"). Also Haitian politicians had always to bear the Army in mind.

Duvalier changed all this. At first he flattered the military and obtained their support. Later, however, he was able to detach himself from them and subdue them; ultimately, he emasculated the Army by inciting the key officers to conspiracies which were, of course, discovered. He achieved his ends by means of two complementary techniques: demagogy and discipline.

In the past, the Haitian peasants never had any political influence. Duvalier was able to interest them in politics, in an elementary fashion, by making promises to them and then, instead of making good on them, blaming the United States for their non-fulfillment because it was not lending enough assistance. In a country where the land has been cut up and parceled out to an exaggerated degree and where there is a high rate of population increase, it is impossible to promise land to the peasants, since they already have it. So one can only promise them roads, better prices for their crops, hospitals, feast-days, and money. Duvalier promised them all, but few of them have been forthcoming. Haiti has been in a state of economic crisis for the past four years. Yet, Duvalier is undeniably popular. How has he managed it?

In the government, Duvalier surrounded himself with a nucleus of Haitians who had lived in France for a long time and been active there in the Communist Party. During those years in France they learned to organize the masses; they learned especially that it is impossible to govern by demagogy unless the people are organized around some nucleus.

Duvalier would not have been able to do this on his own. Nor, in all probability, would his counselors have been able to form a party with a peasantry which was completely illiterate politically. However, there was an institution in Haiti which was both deeply rooted and essentially of the people: voodooism. The Haitian middle class (few in number, but accustomed to sharing the power with the Army) is Catholic; the peasant class pays lip-service to Catholicism but actually practices voodoo – an animistic religion based on the belief in possession by spirit or ghosts. With some adaptations of the Catholic ritual, it follows the religious tradition of many African tribes.

Voodoo is practiced in small groups centered around a *hougan* (medicineman, or priest). This witch-doctor is extremely influential. There are hundreds of them in Haiti. Duvalier has one in his palace, and he has caused the rumor to be circulated that he is himself a *hougan*. He has encouraged voodooism and in so doing has had to defy the Church (most of the bishops are foreigners).

"Haiti loves you, Papa-Doc. The people make Duvalier dolls."

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Thus the *hougans* have become what one might call the nuclei of Duvalier's "party." He and his counselors then organized a people's militia (about 10,000 in number) to counteract the Army. And to isolate the latter, the government sapped the economic strength of the already feeble middle class.

It is possible that Duvalier will flee or be killed. In either event, the only way of governing will be by dictatorship over a peasantry which remains loyal to Duvalier's memory. Thus the Argentine Perón drama would be re-enacted: Duvalier taking the role of Perón and voodooism substituting for wife Evita and the trade unions. Or will Duvalier's successors have learned that it is no longer possible to rule Haiti without taking the peasant class into account?

URUGUAY: *Looking for Customers*

★ Uruguay's decision to stop propping up the peso and let it find a realistic value has created fresh eddies of anti-Americanism. Washington is blamed because it is said to have become unduly pressing for repayment of debts after Uruguay agreed to swap its rice for Castro's sugar. Though Soviet trade with Uruguay before 1950 was negligible, today Russia is the number-one buyer of the country's wool and an important market for meat and mutton – products comprising over 80 percent of Uruguay's hard-to-dispose-of exports. Communist countries last year bought $24.7 million of Uruguayan goods (more than the US) and sold Uruguay only $3.4 million worth.

Yet one cannot deduce too much from the "Russian Spoken Here" signs scattered around the capital of Montevideo, now housing one-third of the country's two million people. More to the point are the bookshops with their editions of Castro's speeches, texts exposing "the new American imperialism," and cheap editions of leftist writers. That these are standard best-sellers says less about Soviet penetration than about Uruguay's long tradition of radicalism. A labor charter lays down a 44-hour week and minimum wages; other legislation provides for free and compulsory education and for retirement after 30 years' work on pension scales probably unsurpassed in the world. The railways, power supplies and waterworks are all nationalized; the state controls petroleum and chemicals.

Despite this and a per-capita income of $395 annually – third highest in Latin America – everything in the garden is not so lovely. The cost of living has been edging upward. Exhilaration produced by the discovery of iron ore deposits adequate to supply the country's needs for at least 70 years has been punctured by a steadily rising level of unemployment and the state's delay in paying out from the pension fund. As always in South America the reason is national illiquidity, caused partly by trade imbalance over a period of years and partly by the slump lately of Argentine tourists. Additionally, however, a major factor is the failure of the governing council to check the flow of contraband which is forcing some local companies to their knees: according to a recent survey 38 percent of the republic's population spend $300,000 every single day snapping up smuggled goods.

All this may explain why in the last elections the pro-Castro coalition party chalked up a significant increase in its share of the votes. The other explanation stems from resentment at the way the US has tried to pressure the OAS into ratification of its views on Cuba. Probably more than in most Latin American countries Fidel is still a hero in Uruguay.

Soviet Fathers and Sons

by George Feifer

> *"In our time the problem of fathers and sons does not exist in the same form as in Turgenev's time. . . . In Soviet socialist society there are no contradictions between generations, and the problem of 'fathers and sons' in the old sense does not exist."*
>
> –NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

At a Komsomol meeting last December, just after Chairman Khrushchev had visited the Moscow artists' exhibit and set off the Party's latest crusade against artistic unorthodoxy, one *aktivist* after another declared from the podium, to the cheers of his fellows, that since *they* are going to live under Communism, *they* ought to help decide what art is appropriate to It – after first seeing all schools; that dictation of artistic standards belongs to Stalin's time; that if *Pravda* is to publish criticism of abstraction, it should also

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publish something in its defense; that "avant-garde" does not necessarily mean "bourgeois"; that the Party officials who were expounding on styles of painting were politicians, not artists. The sense of the meeting was summed up by an earnest geologist: "Down with the old atmosphere!"

Students as I came to know them during a year at the Moscow State University are eager for things they don't have: cars, cafes, slick magazines, the latest jazz and the lightest lipsticks. They are annoyed and becoming more annoyed with restrictions on travel, reading, discussing and criticizing. They are sick of the old slogans, the venerable drabness, the eternal, intangible sense of pressure. (Sometimes it is tangible; close friends pointed out to me the student on our floor who reported to the Soviet police.) In a word, university youth sees much in Soviet life which does not please it, for which it finds no justification and which it feels, or hopes, is soon to be discarded in the ashbin of history.

But to infer from this that fathers and sons are at war, that the young generation is rebellious against socialism, the Soviet regime or the Communist Party seems to me a delusion. Excluding as a fringe element the few (they seemed usually to be from Leningrad) who talked of revolution, the students agree with the fundamental principles and arrangements of Soviet socialism; the closer they came in conversation to what they consider these fundamentals, the greater their agreement. At the end of my year in the University I was impressed more by the limits of dissatisfaction than by the mere fact that Soviet youth is dissatisfied.

Consider the reaction to the new campaign against abstract art. To me, the official crackdown typified the evil of the system. From there, I would go on to talk about other wrongs so depressing to a Western student: Freud and Trotsky missing from the libraries (available to a very few with special permission), rigged elections, prohibition of foreign (non-Communist) newspapers, the rewriting of history, the lies (Finland attacked the Soviet Union in 1939), the unanimous votes, the catechetical teaching of social sciences, the *dictatorship*.

"What about it?" a more thoughtful Soviet friend would ask. "These are wrongs of course. This is far from a perfect society and I see the shortcomings just as you do. But why do you concentrate on the secondary things? On abstract painting instead of distribution of wealth? On Trotsky's reputation instead of the profit motive and the very essence of society? Everyone can't read Trotsky here, but everyone can get a job; everyone can get medical care and has the rudiments of personal dignity. However indirectly, each man owns his factory instead of slaving in someone else's. That's really the main thing; we have gotten rid of the greed and exploitation and misery, the *wrong* of private enterprise, and we are going on from there. Of course I want to know Kandinsky and someday I shall (and I would have long ago had Lenin lived longer); but let's put first things first. You have millionaires spending more on their poodles than the workers spend on their children. You Americans have working people so suppressed that six million can't find a job. And you talk about the sanctity of the individual."

The first television program I watched after returning to the US from Moscow was entitled, "Is Soviet Youth Sold on Communism?" (Much as I used to yearn while there that my roommates be exposed to American public affairs television, I was relieved that they couldn't have seen that sample.) The question is tricky: Is American youth sold on capitalism? Bright Soviet students want change and redress of grievances, but on a foundation of Soviet-socialist principles, not capitalist-liberal ones. Their first requirement for the good society is common ownership of the means of production, not a democratically-working parliament or even a pluralist press. In every discussion it came to this: "I simply do not see how a decent and just society – let's not talk about democracy or human values – can be built on an economic base of capitalism. What hope there is lies with socialism. That is the main thing: free enterprise must be done away with. The rest will follow, spiritually and intellectually as well as materially."

In this sense Soviet youth is Marxist, and though it cuts or dozes through its required courses on Marxism-Leninism and dialectical materialism, it is steeped in the basic concepts. It chafes at the deification of Lenin and the iconry with which the Party sanctifies itself, but has no argument with the principles – even the tactics – championed in the *Collected Works* and the official *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.*

The new Soviet generation will make a society which in many essential ways is antagonistic to America. Though the sons on both sides have more in common than do their fathers, father and son on each side are still united by more than that which separates them. In a Soviet dormitory, as in any other, it is easier to overhear complaints about, say, shortages of consumer goods than to hear enthusiastic comment about heavy industry investment policy, but the longer I listened, the more I was convinced that, pushed to the wall, youth supports the general Party line.

"Socialism is built, and I think the job of my generation is to build material wealth with it. Nikita Sergeyevitch understands this, even if his tastes in art are conservative. We're headed right; can you really expect that a nation improving itself at the rate we are can do it without some restrictions of liberty? That is the real difference you know: we are building a new society. What is America building?"

Like everyone else, Soviet students see the world in terms of alternatives, and in the great struggle between

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East and West – a struggle which they really believe to be (ideologically) inevitable, they are squarely on the side of the East. Other feelings enter: for instance their intense nationalism and love of Russia ("My country right or wrong" applies to Soviet sons more than American ones), but they do not now put the matter that way; they are too sure that "our cause is just" and that "justice will triumph." Disappointing as it is to them, the new Party crusade against experimentation in the arts has not destroyed their faith: "The freedom to paint and publish is a bit secondary, isn't it, to the freedom from exploitation?"

Today's Impasse, Tomorrow's Solution

by Raymond Aron

Many New Frontier leaders, including some of the President's inner circle, now regret that an attitude of open hostility was adopted toward the French nuclear program, instead of a policy of encouraging the UK to collaborate with France in military matters, particularly in the guided missile area (which would not have violated the agreements Britain has with the Atomic Energy Commission). Perhaps President de Gaulle would have vetoed Great Britain's admission to the European Common Market anyway, but no one can be certain of this, and the policy which was followed, culminating in the spectacular developments at Nassau, most decidedly weakened any chances for successful negotiations in Brussels.

The fact that advisers of Kennedy, or the President himself, are willing to assume a share of responsibility for the present crisis, does not, unfortunately, provide us with a way out of the impasse. The American Government has plans, but the French Government has a program (whether good or bad is unimportant) which, though it may be held up by technical difficulties, will not be discontinued, at least not for several years to come. As for the British, they are casting about for a policy and going through that self-examination that precedes a national election.

The German Government, for its part, has accepted in principle the concept of a multilateral or inter-allied nuclear force (surface vessels with mixed crews, equipped with Polaris missiles), but former Minister Joseph Strauss' group, of which Albert Weinstein is a spokesman, is passionately denouncing the compliant attitude of Adenauer and his new Defense Minister. The majority of the Germans would like to have medium-range ballistic missiles installed in Europe; they are convinced that the Americans, by taking precautions against automatic escalation of a conflict, are reducing the effectiveness of their nuclear deterrent and increasing the risk of limited wars. In other words, the Americans are offering the Germans something they were not asking for: participation in a strategic force of doubtful effectiveness and submission to the American veto; and the US is refusing what the Germans would like to have: more certain and immediate use of tactical nuclear weapons or missiles installed in Europe.

Regardless of how the future government of Italy may feel about a multilateral force, such a force is fraught with so many technical, administrative and political headaches that negotiations and conversations will go on for years and are not likely to be concluded within the decade (on a hypothetical and optimistic schedule). Meanwhile, France will have become mistress of a handful of Mirage aircraft; perhaps of some A-bomb carriers if the program goes forward without further delay and of some ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads. That being so, what subjects could Kennedy and de Gaulle discuss this June if they were to engage in the conversations now being hinted at or recommended by a number of men of good will who feel torn between their intermittent de Gaullism and their perennial Atlanticism?

Let no one misinterpret my meaning: in my opinion it is most deplorable that relations between France and the US should have so deteriorated that the President of the US cannot or does not want to come to Paris during a European visit. There would be no lack of subjects to discuss, provided nuclear and European problems are avoided. On these two subjects, an agreement to disagree is the most one could hope for, in my opinion. Also, if de Gaulle's loyal entourage would stop talking as though the best criterion of their loyalty to the General was the sharpness of their anti-American proposals, they would help relax present tensions more than they could conceive possible. The Kennedy Administration understands thoroughly that the French

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would like to provide their country with a deterrent force of its own. What the US finds it difficult to grasp is that in Paris the preferred argument for a national *force de frappe* is the worthlessness of America.

This protracted disagreement between Paris and Washington is regrettable from many points of view. If, as I believe is true, the US cannot prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, it would have been better for the US and for the Alliance if America had aided Europe in a joint and reasonable undertaking, instead of recommending a multilateral force which the French reject, to which the British pay lipservice, and which the Germans greet with reticence.

I am well aware that Kennedy would reply – with accuracy – that he has on several occasions proposed negotiating with Europe, if there were a Europe in the sense of a government delegated by all the nations of the Old Continent to negotiate with the overseas Atlantic partner. Such a European government does not exist; agreement on which one and only finger should press the button is just as hard to come by within a European framework as within an Atlantic framework. De Gaulle has repeatedly said that transfers of national authority are out of the question; and if he refuses to give up sovereign authority or weaken it in the interest of saving money, he can hardly be contemplating giving up exclusive authority over a deterrent force which is the pride of the French nation.

The road seems to be blocked from all sides. In the last analysis, however, I refuse to be pessimistic if both Washington and Paris learn from the experience which has actually been acquired in European integration, and if, both in France and overseas, technical needs and political exigencies are given due recognition (the latter being no less imperative than the former). From the long-range view, there is no possibility that the Americans will retain their monopoly on the possession and actual decision concerning the use of nuclear weapons. Nor will this cause the Alliance to break up, for Europeans and Americans alike have a common interest in guaranteeing their mutual security and in maintaining as unified an organization as possible of deterrent forces.

So-called coordination of the British force and the American force made it possible for the independence of the former to exist *de jure*, without substantially increasing the peril of proliferation so obsessively feared in Washington. The same could happen with respect to the French force some years from now, if only both sides would stop suspecting each other of dark plottings and schemings.

In order to preserve in fact the unified organization and action which are essential to monopoly, the US should renounce any *de jure* monopoly. Once the European countries have gained their *de jure* independence, they will discover the disproportionate cost of a real nuclear deterrent force. Meanwhile, the kind of integration demanded by the "purists" in Washington is not going to come about. What could come about, at least in the opinion of the "responsible thinkers," is a coordination among the Western allies that represents an adaptation of the technical need for integration to the unchanging qualities of human nature and of nations.

[The Americans'] only motive in discussing a NATO force is the praiseworthy desire to recognize the shifting balance of Atlantic power by giving the NATO countries a greater say in their defense and discouraging them from following France along the road to independent deterrents. Their main interest, in other words, is political. Indeed the Americans feel that any nuclear ambitions among Europeans weaken the alliance by diverting effort from conventional weapons.

The difficulty, not yet sufficiently recognized, is that the needs of a strategic deterrent are incompatible with the traditional concept of a military alliance of sovereign equals. The effectiveness of the modern deterrent depends on the certainty and speed of its response. If it is controlled by more than one sovereign power it must be subject to veto and to political consultation, either of which can make it useless. Hence three possibilities lie before NATO. One is for each member to have his own deterrent. This needs no comment. The other is to make nuclear weapons the responsibility of the United States and to give each member as large a say as possible in policy and planning. This remains the only solution at present. The third is for NATO to develop such a degree of political unity that it can act as a single power. This distant aim is clearly the one to work for. The fact that France has thrown a spanner in the works is extremely unfortunate but no cause for panic. The process of political consolidation can still go on. Britain's best contribution would be to work for the strengthening of NATO's political machinery. In this dilemma only political activity will solve political problems.

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Kennedy and the Liberals

by Seymour E. Harris

In the May 18, 1963, issue of *The New Republic*, TRB comments on President Kennedy's failure to use Presidential powers to put over an adequate domestic policy. I do not like to take issue with TRB; especially since I suspect who TRB is, and he happens to be a friend and a journalist for whom I have great admiration. But TRB is not alone in his criticism of the President. Some able and articulate writers with liberal propensities have even said that we might just as well have had Eisenhower.

Let us see what the record shows. I am comparing Kennedy's record for 1961-63 (the latter part of 1963 projected on the best estimates I have been able to find) and President Eisenhower's from 1952 to 1960.

In consumer prices, Eisenhower's Administration experienced an average increase of 1.5 percent; the Kennedy Administration one percent. Despite the great emphasis on stopping the creeping inflation, the Republican Administration experienced a rise of prices 50 percent in excess of that of the Kennedy Administration. This is a great achievement for any Administration and especially for a Democratic one, for Democrats, in contrast to the Republicans, tend to stress objectives such as growth and full employment somewhat more than rigid price stability.

One reason for the better price record of the Kennedy Administration is the pressure put upon labor to keep wages in line with productivity gains; and on industry to relate price increases to wage increases. Whereas, in the years 1952-1960 wage rates in manufacturing rose by five percent, the estimated rise in 1961-63 is only three percent – annual averages.

The liberals complain of the unwillingness of the President to spend and incur adequate deficits. That was the burden of Hobart Rowen's article in *The New Republic* last week. But from fiscal year 1953 to fiscal year 1961, Eisenhower's (estimated) expenditures rose by $7 billion, Kennedy's in three years by $17 billion. And let us not forget (1) that under Eisenhower, the Congress led the President; under Kennedy, the President led the Congress for enactment of necessary spending programs; (2) that three-quarters of the increase of spending under Kennedy has been for military and related programs and these outlays increase the difficulty of achieving larger advances in the welfare area; (3) the espousal of a tax-cut program meant less reliance on spending programs. Once deficits become uncomfortably large as a result of a tax cut, it becomes more difficult to increase deficits through spending programs. Like the critics of the President, I also would like to see more expenditures on medicine, education and housing, say. But one reason for the almost unanimous support of a tax cut among economists is that the Congress does not seem disposed to support that kind of spending program.

President Kennedy in his campaign and platform urged a growth of five percent per year. He has not achieved this and the Democrats were too optimistic. Nevertheless, the growth record is better than the Eisenhower record – three percent for the years 1952-1960 as against 3.7 percent average in 1961 and 1962 and an estimated 4.3 percent in 1961-63.

What is more, the inflationary cost of each percentage of growth was much less under Kennedy. In 1952-1960, the ratio of percentage rise of growth over percentage rise of prices was 2.0; in 1961 and 1962, 3.7 and in 1961-63 (1963 estimated) 4+.

In assessing the relative growth one should also consider several unfortunate handicaps under which Kennedy operated. One is the continued pressure of the dollar, or balance-of-payments problem which restricts expansionary policies. Another is the inheritance of a sluggish economy with 4.5 million unemployed, or 6.4 percent unemployment. A third is the crisis of confidence which occurs about once in a generation and was reflected in the stock market deflation of 1962, a factor helping to explain the disappointing record of investments in 1962. A fourth was the using up of most of the pent-up demand by 1960 inherited from the depression and World War II. A fifth was the accelerated rate of automation which surely increases transitional unemployment, even though the long-run gains are likely to be substantial. In the light of these restraints, the record on growth has been more than satisfactory.

When the Kennedy Administration took over, it could look back to three recoveries that endured for 45, 35 and 25 months. There was considerable fear that this trend might continue and the President would be confronted with another recession in the near future. We now have had 27 months of recovery; and it may well continue from 30 to 45 months. The Kennedy Administration wants a continued recovery which

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would assure the country a stable and growing economy, and would be, as a by-product, a political windfall, and it seems to realize that in a completely free market recoveries are not likely to be long sustained.

In one area the Eisenhower Administration performed better than the Kennedy Administration: unemployment averaged 4.9 percent under Eisenhower. But note a steady trend upward. Under Truman the average had been 4.2 percent. Under Kennedy, the average was 6.7 percent in 1961 (reflecting the inherited recession), 5.6 percent in 1962 and an informed guess puts it at 5.4 percent in 1963. Improvement here has been slow. Yet the Kennedy Administration fought for and got a Manpower Training Act which would deal directly with areas of infection. Unfortunately with 5-6 percent unemployment the number of unfilled vacancies is bound to be small. The tax cut and accompanying rise of GNP beyond $25 billion per year are likely to cut unemployment in 1963 and 1964.

In monetary policy, there is no comparison in the achievements of the two Administrations. The Eisenhower Administration and its financial agencies had a complex on inflation, with the result that interest rates were steadily pushed up, with unfortunate effects on investment. To take an important example: from 1952 to 1960 the yield on corporate Aaa bonds rose from 2.96 to 4.41 percent, or by almost 50 percent; from 1960 to 1962, the yield dropped from 4.41 to 4.33 or by 2 percent. It is most unusual for rates to drop consistently in a long recovery period. This did not happen without hard work. The President, Dillon, Heller and Roosa must have made the needs of adequate supplies of money clear to the Federal Reserve, and yet without raising troublesome issues of the independence of the "Fed." This cheap money policy, the new depreciation and investment credit policies and the tax cut are beginning to be reflected in a rising volume of investment.

Perhaps in no area has the government made as much progress as in fiscal policy. In the midst of the Berlin crisis in 1961, the President at first wanted a tax increase to match the rise of military outlays. He was dissuaded from introducing a fiscal policy that would be more associated with Presidents Hoover, Eisenhower and Secretaries Humphrey and Anderson than with Democratic policies. By May, 1963, as revealed in his brilliant address to the Committee for Economic Development, the President proved that of all Presidents, he alone had learned the lessons of modern economics.

His tax-cut program is not perfect. Many would have sought less of a stretch-out and more tax cuts in the early stages. But the President saw the heavy political costs involved in the perfect program from an economist's viewpoint, and what is more important, the unacceptability of a program that might involve a $15-$20 billion deficit in one year. But at any rate, for the first time we have a President who is prepared to incur deficits as the price of a sustained recovery and of a rise of GNP large enough to keep unemployment from rising and even to reduce it to some extent.

Finally, what of the troublesome problem of the balance of payments? It is still a threat to the expansionist policies. But at least strong measures have been taken and a substantial improvement achieved: whereas, from 1958-1960 the average deficit in the balance of payments was $3.7 billion, in 1961 and 1962 the average was only $2.2 billion; and the excess of exports of goods and services over imports was $2 billion in the earlier period and $5 billion under Kennedy.

On almost every economic front the Kennedy Administration has achieved a great deal – not as much as they anticipated, for the obstacles were hidden to the candidate, but in view of the bad breaks, inclusive of the Republican-Southern coalition, the advances have been substantial. Some may say Kennedy has not accomplished as much as President Franklin Roosevelt, but action is more likely when a tiger is in one's home than when the invader is a colony of ants. The President has been willing to lead – for example, on Medicare and fiscal policy – and at times by a considerable distance. But as TRB agrees, he cannot move ahead too far. He has lost many battles and some of them tough ones; it would be foolish to waste ammunition in battles that cannot possibly be won.

I do not understand why so many liberals continue to say that the President does not try hard enough. What President has worked as hard, for example, to put over modern fiscal policies and has been courageous enough to present his views to groups of businessmen, business editors, bankers, CED, Yale alumni, who on the whole (with the exception of the CED), tend to be allergic to modern economics? His major responsibility is our security. What astonishes me is how much time the President devotes to the economic problems, how interested he is in them and how much he has learned in the last two years.

TRB is also concerned over the President's determination to get on with businessmen. I agree there are difficulties here. Business and government do not always see eye to eye, and one must be careful not to yield too much to business demands. But in a capitalist system, the confidence of the businessman is important. Businessmen were no heroes to Keynes. But on February 1, 1938, Keynes, disturbed by Roosevelt's harassing of businessmen and the emergency of a new recession, wrote in a famous letter to the President: ". . . It is a mistake to think that they [businessmen] are more *immoral* than politicians. If you work them into the surly, obstinate, terrified mood, of which domestic animals, wrongly handled, are so capable, the nation's burdens will not get carried to market. . . ."

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Gunboats on the Raritan

by James Ridgeway

Passing out of New York City to the south the traveler proceeds through an area of stinking bogs, not unlike the environs of the River Styx. Flames and putrid smoke belch into the sky from chimneys of oil and chemical companies. At the feet of these industrial engines, running amidst a clutter of towns and small cities, flows a foul smelling sewer, the Arthur Kill, into which industries have long heaved all manner of refuse. The Kill lies between the New Jersey shore and Staten Island, terminating on the north in Newark Bay. At its southern outlet, it feeds the accumulated filth into the Raritan Bay, a body of water 30 square miles in area, located beneath the sprawl of New York harbor and designated since 1937 by New York and New Jersey as a playground for the 15 million people living in and around the City. Beneath this huge cesspool, close to where the Arthur Kill spills out its contents, other sewer pipes converge beneath the water's surface, spewing out 50 million gallons of human and industrial wastes each day. In all, the sewage from 1.2 million people is pumped into this bay every 24 hours. Large amounts of inorganic industrial wastes also are deposited. This mass of putrefaction oozes about the New Jersey and Staten Island shores for several days, washing the beaches with quantities of fecal bacteria, closing out the light and consuming the oxygen required by fish and other forms of marine animal and plant life, before sluggishly moving seaward on the outgoing tide.

Raritan Bay was designated Class "A" waters by the Interstate Sanitation Commission, an organization formed by the states of New York and New Jersey to regulate interstate water pollution. Class "A" means that the waters are to be used primarily for bathing, boating, fishing and other recreational purposes, as well as for the maintenance of a shell fish industry. (Pollution has forced the closing of all but a small portion of the once prosperous shell fish beds on the Raritan.) State health commissioners are members of the Interstate Sanitation Commission; they work through it and independently to enforce water standards.

The numerous tributaries, twisting tidal currents, and the great increase of population and multiplicity of industry have combined to make the abatement of pollution on the Raritan difficult. Even so, efforts by the states and the Commission have been so belated and so feeble that the Bay is one of the worst sewers in the nation. Two years ago an outbreak of infectious hepatitis was traced to clams taken from the Raritan Bay, bacteria standards for which had not been enforced by the states. At this point the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, acting under the authority granted it by the Water Pollution Control Act of 1956, intruded against strong opposition by the states to seek improvement in the abatement program.

This law is the crux of the federal program. It permits the government to spend $90 million each year to aid cities and towns in the building of sewage disposal plants. It also permits the government to initiate a series of actions to abate pollution of interstate waters when health or welfare is endangered. The enforcement machinery is cumbersome. It involves first calling a conference of interested parties (usually state and federal health officials) to give the states an opportunity to take remedial action on their own. If they do not lay out and implement specific plans for abatement, usually requiring the construction of new or improved treatment plants, a hearing is held; if this fails to produce results the government may finally bring suit. In many instances states are not eager to enforce pollution abatement programs because sewage plants mean higher taxes for municipalities, or because they are trying to lure industry to build new plants and do not want to hinder these prospects by requiring them to build expensive waste treatment facilities.

In the case of the Raritan, the first conference in August, 1961, resulted in the US Public Health Service, under whose authority the pollution act is administered, establishing a research laboratory at Metuchen, N. J. Three ships began a study of the bay waters to see whether they met the standards set by the Commission.

At this first session, state health officials as well as the Commission protested that their pollution abatement programs were effective, that 73 cases of hepatitis "hardly presents the 'national' interest that would justify enforcement action by the Public Health Service," and finally suggested that one of the major purposes of the waters in question was for the disposal of waste. William C. Cope, then Commission Chairman, declared, ". . . Surveys by state and city agencies indicate that they [the Raritan Bay waters] are now, and for some time past have been, in very good condition for virtually every use that can be made of them, including those requiring a high degree of purity such as fishing and bathing. . . ."

At that time, one of the more scenic spots on the

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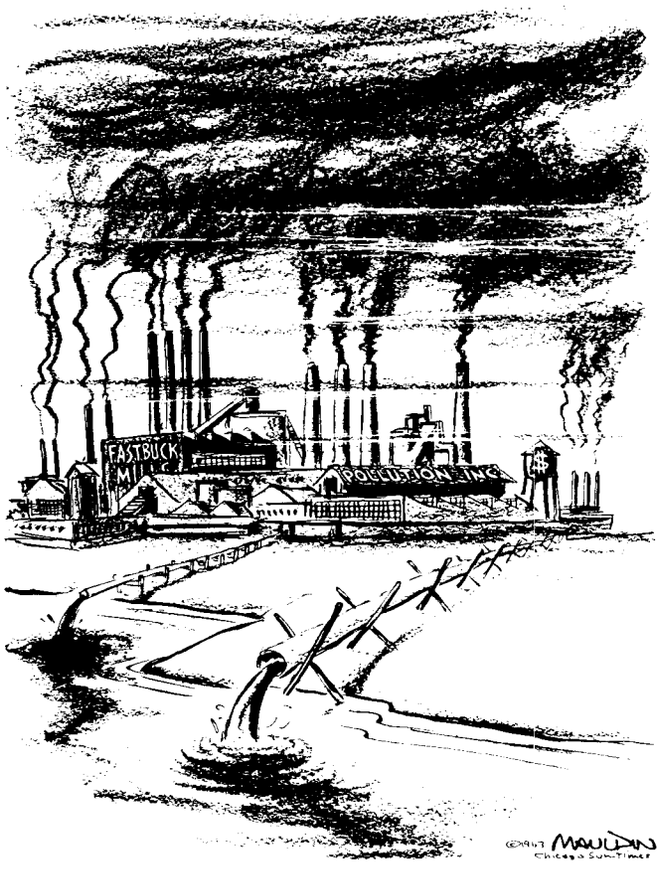
Raritan Bay was the Perth Amboy, N. J., public bathing beach. The water was particularly warm because 200 feet off the beach front, rising in a boil, spouted the city's sewage outflow, bathing swimmers and beach with fresh, inadequately treated human feces. A few miles away, the town of Tottenville, Staten Island, N.Y., dumped its raw sewage from 4,000 people into the bay waters, and several miles east up the Staten Island coast, the public bathing beaches were washed in the sewage flows coming through the Narrows from New York harbor. At one of these, South Beach, the City of New York each year enacts a little drama: The city Health Department warns the people not to swim there because it is polluted; the city Parks Department then comes along, opens up the beach, and staffs it with lifeguards.

There are some indications that the policies followed by both the Interstate Sanitation Commission and the state health departments have tended to increase the complexity of the pollution problem. Since 1958, for instance, the Middlesex County Sewerage Authority, one of the largest contributors of waste to the Bay, has been permitted to pump its effluent into seven feet of water in a dead spot in the Bay, adjacent to heavily-populated areas and numerous bathing beaches. As a result, the sewage lies in this dead spot for several days before moving out to sea. To make up for the shallow water, the Authority dug a hole 35 feet deep in the sand beneath the end of the pipe. Like many other sewage treatment plants in the Raritan Bay area, the Authority provides primary treatment; that is, it settles out solids, which contain the bulk of harmful bacteria, and then chlorinates the liquid effluent to kill bacteria before expelling it into the water. The government claims that the chlorine has not been administered in sufficient quantities to kill bacteria, and that the great volume of the effluvia has reduced the oxygen content of the water below Commission standards.



Investment

The inabilities of the states to compel industry to clean up its wastes are well known. But the states of New York and New Jersey seem to have run up against particularly bad luck in attempting to persuade hundreds of industries along the Arthur Kill, to install treatment plants for their organic and inorganic wastes. Since 1955, the Interstate Sanitation Commission has been making certain studies of the Kill. Each one has shown that definite progress was in sight; the industries, never named, were being consulted.

In effect, this appears to have been nothing but a delaying tactic, since the federal government says that pollution can be pinpointed through sampling outflow pipes, and that treatment is technically feasible in all instances. Moreover, Chairman Cope and his successors have consistently maintained that the Arthur Kill really has no effect on the Raritan Bay at all, but rather, expels its heavy pollution load into the Newark Bay. However, this view is contradicted by the Commission's own research which reported that dye floated at any point in the water to show current direction, rapidly began to leave the Kill through both northern and southern extremities. A Public Health Service dye study of the Kill showed, that under the most adverse conditions, anything placed at the Raritan Bay end of the Kill would float all the way up on one tide and come back down in short order.

When the Public Health Service published the results of this study, the Interstate Commission fell silent on its claims to the current direction of the Arthur Kill. Orders were issued through the state health departments, directing several municipalities and industries, most of them on the New Jersey side of the Kill, to improve markedly their sewage treatment facilities within one year's time. In announcing these orders as proof of its effective and progressive plans for water pollution abatement, the Commission and the states at the second session of the conference held this month again urged the federal government to quit the Bay. The government studies, they said, were a scant contribution to the knowledge of the area. This the government declined to do, since its studies are not yet complete.

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New Jersey now says, however, that one year is too little time; it will take at least two years of work before plans can be laid out. There are three large industries which contribute the bulk of pollution to the Arthur Kill: Humble Oil, American Cyanamid, and General Aniline & Film. They have been dragging their feet on this problem for eight and one-half years already. Now New Jersey will give them at least two more.

Not only have the people of New York and New Jersey been spending money for delaying tactics, bad planning, and apparently bogus research on the Raritan Bay, but, so too has the federal government which each year doles out about $500,000 to the state health departments and the Commission for their water pollution programs. These funds are part of a total $5 million annual expenditure by the government to all states for similar purposes, and they are administered by the Public Health Service, which claims that it is prevented under the act from exercising any real control over their use. In the Raritan Bay, the government is spending an additional $200,000 annually for its special study.

Even if they could exercise control over these funds, there is some question as to whether many in the Public Health Service would want to do much in way of supervising the state programs, partly because the funds are relatively small, but more importantly, because the Public Health Service – with the exception of a 24 man enforcement branch sandwiched into it – appears to take a fairly relaxed view of its duties under the pollution act. The enforcement branch depends on the Public Health Service for research to support its activities, but it also must fight its way through the bureaucracy of the Service to get any compliance.

Traditionally, Public Health Service officers have acted in the capacity of advisers to the states. Moreover, the primary concerns of the Service are those directly related to health, and when this narrow concern is applied to water pollution, it results in the closing down of beaches or shutting up the clam beds, not in the improvement of the water. The Public Health Service seems to feel that pollution abatement can best be achieved through gentlemanly meetings behind closed doors. In New York City regional officials of the Health Service went out of their way to make things easy for the states and the Interstate Sanitation Commission at the second Raritan conference. First, the Public Health Service regional office felt the federal court house, the scene of the first conference, was unduly oppressive from the states' point of view. So they had the second conference removed to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Then they attempted to suppress an innocuous press release announcing the conference and prepared by the enforcement branch. Because of "sensitive" federal-state relations, the regional office felt the release was unnecessary. "They'd like to do it all behind closed doors if they could. It's all one big happy family," said one official referring to the relations between the state and federal regional health officers.

Thomas R. Glenn, Jr., executive Secretary of the Interstate Sanitation Commission, feels that the Commission is best able to make progress when it "ends up in the back of the newspaper. The Commission has a reputation of being reasonable," he added.

One Big Happy Family

Some members of Congress have felt for a long time that the Public Health Service is inadequately equipped to administer the water pollution program. Representatives Dingell and Blatnik are sponsoring legislation in the House, and Mr. Muskie in the Senate, which would wrest the enforcement of the act from the Surgeon General, and place it in a separate administration directly under Secretary Celebrezze; but leave the research functions with the Public Health Service. The Surgeon General, on the other hand, wants the water pollution program as the single largest part of a new Bureau of Environmental Health.

The Administration's attitudes toward this pending legislation appears somewhat confused. The President in his health message endorsed a Bureau of Environmental Health. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare says it has not yet decided what position to take. Secretary Celebrezze's interest in the matter seems slight. Since taking office he has not initiated a single abatement action. Twenty were begun under Mr. Ribicoff.

On the face of it, nothing would be gained by requiring the Public Health Service to become a regulatory agency, a function which it has shown itself ill-equipped to handle. Surely nothing is gained by pretending that the pollution of interstate waters will be abated through a series of pleasant little meetings between federal and state health officials, when in many instances the state officials represent governments anxious to attract industry and avoid raising tax rates. Water pollution is a straight-forward federal-state issue, waged on the one hand by a vigorous but tiny federal enforcement unit which wants not only to stop pollution but to restore the quality of the waters, and on the other hand by states who resist every inch of the way. At the very least, the enforcement section should be removed from its administrative entanglements within the health service and made into an administration directly beneath the Secretary. But if this is to work, Mr. Celebrezze will have to show more enthusiasm for enforcement than he has to date. And, therefore, Mr. Dingell's latest solution, the transfer of the enforcement section to the Interior Department, may well be the best answer.

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Changing Our Unnatural Habitat

by Wolf Von Eckardt

Americans have worried, read and written a great deal about their houses beautiful and better homes and gardens. The number and circulation figures of more or less good housekeeping magazines, not to speak of the "home fashion" columns in the newspapers, attest to that. Crab grass, we are told, now poses a formidable mental health problem. But it is only since Lewis Mumford came along that the noxious architectural weeds, freeways, billboards and clutter which blight our environment are beginning to upset our tranquility. Only in very recent years are we emerging from indifference toward the cityscape beyond our front lawns and apartment house entrances. For generations, we have just built and built and built and no one said much about the kind of neighborhoods and cities all this building added up to. If you don't like the looks, sounds or smells of your habitat you could, after all, move elsewhere.

The Highway and the City
by Lewis Mumford
(Harvest; $1.65)

Before Mumford's *Sticks and Stones*, the first history of American architecture, appeared in 1922, there was only one architectural critic in all of America. His name was Montgomery Schuyler and he wrote for the New York *World* and *Times*, and some of the leading magazines of his day, which ended in 1914. Today it takes more than the fingers of one hand to enumerate the serious architectural writers who emulate Schuyler and Mumford in the general press. As a result, architecture and what has come to be called urban design are no longer entirely confined to the real estate pages and the platitudes of their undiscerning editors. Even the professional architectural journals are becoming literate and now venture an occasional bit of critical judgment. The discussion has at last begun.

It would be an exaggeration to credit Mumford alone for this. There is also the much discussed cultural boom which now makes it as fashionable to find a witty quip about Le Corbusier in the depths of a martini glass as to have an opinion about de Kooning. There is a growing awareness that we can't forever keep moving on, leaving slums in our wake. Urban space has become one of our most precious commodities and urban blight is proving more contagious than poliomyelitis ever was, and far more difficult to cure and prevent. The problems of the contemporary city have caught up with us and we are beginning to see that they are much too serious to leave to the experts alone.

It was Mumford and his brilliant essays – published mainly, though all too sporadically, in *The New Yorker* – which got both the cocktail party chatter and the serious concern going. And it is as architectural critic and student of what the French conveniently call *urbanisme*, rather than as social philosopher, that he may, in the end, have made his greatest contribution.

The first collection of Mumford's *New Yorker* pieces was published some years ago as *From the Ground Up*. The second collection of *Sky Line* essays, written in the course of the past decade and augmented by three articles which so far only the professionals have seen in their journals, has just appeared as a Harvest Book paperback entitled *The Highway and the City*. Its reviews of contemporary towns, buildings, building groups and monuments both here and in Europe are even better reading *in toto* and make a greater impact than they did scattered in magazines. They do not yet add up to a full-fledged contemporary philosophy of *urbanisme*, a basic concept which could give purpose and direction to our hectic construction and urban renewal efforts. But they set the mood for one. Like nebulae these sparkling wide ranging observations and insights seem about to, but not quite ready to, give birth to a new stellar body of thought. Such a unifying desideratum is, as Mumford himself is aware, missing in his momentous and scholarly *The City in History*. Far worse, it is lacking in the diffused activities of our architects and city planners.

Only Mumford's eloquent praise of some of the recent war memorials in Europe seems to digress somewhat from his central theme. But does it? Public art is a part of the city, even though some city governments think that a handsome mosaic on the wall of a school building, say, corrupts not only the municipal coffer but public morals as well.

Mumford's enthusiasm for the stirring Cave Ardeatine near Rome and Ossip Zodkine's memento to the Nazi bombing of Rotterdam might set us thinking about civic monuments at home. On the one hand, we seem to be thoroughly nauseated by the mawkishly heroic sculptures of the type Mr. Felix W. de Weldon just made of Harry Truman as a gift to Greece. That is why Interior Secretary Udall has called for a moratorium on all monuments in Washington and has actually shipped one or two of them out of the city. On the other hand, we still are so afraid of modern design that Congress considered it the better part of valor to kill the artistically daring proposal for a national memorial to Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Congressmen weren't against Roosevelt, they were against "modern" art. Neither is Udall against monuments per se. He is against bad ones and may have forgotten that they could also be good. For surely the green expanses of Washington could use some good

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sculpture to enliven them. And so could a great many unused and unuseable open spaces around the country. But as a nation, we haven't yet discovered, as Mumford did in Rome and Rotterdam, that modern sculpture is ready to be let out of the museums and galleries.

Nor is Mumford's criticism of the English New Towns remote to our problems. The New Towns themselves – more than a dozen new settlements being built under the auspices of the British government in the open country, some 50 to 100 miles from the main cities – deserve a great deal more attention here than they have received. They are not dormitories for commuters, like our own Levittowns, but complete, self-sufficient communities where people find not only pleasant homes but work, markets, hospitals and theaters. Mumford has for decades advocated such "garden cities" as they were once, misleadingly called. His visit to the most recent realization of this idea, first advanced by Ebenezer Howard 60 years ago, has confirmed his enthusiasm. The New Town concept is the only solution so far advanced to meet the problem of preserving the countryside from urban sprawl and easing traffic congestion.

But Mumford is by no means uncritical of these new English communities. He deplores the far-too-wide streets, further widened by the setback of the houses which line them, and the extravagant but useless open spaces around the public buildings. "In its revolt against congestion . . . a space-hungry generation has," he fears, "developed eyes that are bigger than its stomach. Such openness not merely reduces urbanity, it also reduces social amenity and is economically wasteful." It takes land out of social use and, in overcoming congestion, forgets the social virtues of concentration. Our own new housing projects, both private and public, keep making the same mistake.

There is plenty of concentration in Le Corbusier's seventeen-story apartment building for workers in Marseilles, pretentiously called *Maison de L'Unité d'Habitation*. Mumford's reasons for rejecting Le Corbusier's notion of housing the needs of an entire community, including a shopping street, in the dark innard of one monolithic skyscraper are wholly convincing. But he finds much praise for the novel, sculptural quality of the building. It marked the beginning of Le Corbusier's fanciful architectural abstractions in raw concrete which he has since further developed at Chandigarh, a new provincial capital in India, and of which his new art center at Harvard is the most recent example. What Mumford said in 1957 about the *Unité*, sharpens our view of these later buildings and also applies to the alarmingly proliferating Corbuisms which are suddenly mushrooming all over the United States. The unique, architectural effect of the *Unité*, Mumford observed, depends in vast degree upon its isolation. Since its intimate features are harsh and contradictory, it is mainly at a distance that it composes into an aesthetic unity. You can't see the Harvard art center from a distance without backing into the Harvard Faculty Club or the Fogg Museum. Nor will you be able to get very far away from the proposed new City Hall in Boston, to mention just one of the mushrooms. It may have been safer when American architects attempted to emulate Mies van der Rohe's classically proportioned glass boxes, for these are readily imitable. The very personal style of a genius rarely is.

But imitable or imitated or not, Mumford would put the plague on both Mies' and Le Corbusier's houses. Both, he holds, are based on a belief in mechanical progress which has proven to be false. Both, he contends, have led the art of building from the machine to the package – to "elegant monuments of nothingness." While Mies rigidly arranges chairs in his glassy living rooms in open disregard of the necessary intimacies and informalities of conversation, Le Corbusier cramps individual apartments into his buildings in a fashion as archaic as that of the New York brownstones.

The promise of building technology, Mumford finds, which opened those breath-taking possibilities for new forms that Eric Mendelsohn so brilliantly anticipated in his visionary sketches of the twenties, has now been

Homage to a Grade B *Movie*

I swear to you, seeing the damn thing
Twice, I realized its grandeur. Consider:
The War, boy lieutenant, girl nurse,
Deliciously met, she a virgin, he a great
American swinger, shells falling, his regiment
Pulling out – she says she can't shack up
Because Is It Love under those conditions?
(They don't love like that any more).

So he grits his teeth, kisses her anyway
And so help me the tough guy takes off
In a blaze of purity, while I sit dazed.
I never switched the dial, saying
Can This Be True? It was. Battle, wounded,
Her nursing, his crisis and slow recovery.
How can we deny them marriage? Never.
And the oaf is off to his virgin bride,
Marries her on crutches – we know for sure
She'll tuck him into bed, he'll make it –
While that man in the TV set opens
The can of beer and holds it right out
To me, in honor of all we hold dear.

Norman Rosten

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fulfilled with architectural perversions. Mumford sees our current architecture dominated by a quest for sensational forms which have no other purpose than to demonstrate the audacity of the designer. He cites Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim Museum as one example. The new churches around the country, whose very form of construction reveals nothing but a desire to compete on equal aesthetic terms with the supermarket and the hot dog emporium serve as another. "This is not functional and purposeful activity," he says. "It is the creativity of the kaleidoskope, so far the most successful of all inventions for imitating creativity by juggling mechanical forms."

Mumford's answer is to put man in the center of architectural thinking – man not as the inventor, manipulator and servant of his technical innovations, but as a creature of nature, endowed by human interests and human purposes which transcend his instruments and machines. Such thinking "will not automatically reject daylight in favor of a facile mechanical institute, or fresh air, renovated by vegetation, for a purely mechanical system of modifying the air."

The case against modern architecture has never been more poignantly stated. But it cannot constructively rest where Mumford leaves it – with a vague exhortation to use an "organic approach" to building and city design. This is where the shining Mumfordian nebulae are still rather gaseous. The word "organic" has been bandied about by just about every architect and architectural writer who could spell it. But it has yet to result in a single blueprint that a building contractor, client or onlooker can understand.

Like most of us, including a growing number of architects, Mumford is encouraged by two recent trends. One is the new emphasis on building-groups – well arranged clusters and streets – rather than individual buildings. We are no longer quite as intent as we were to try to wrap every human function into one big package. The other is the rediscovery of history. Like all revolutions, the architectural one at the beginning of this century point blank rejected everything that ever went on before. Now, Mumford notes, architectural students demand to study the past again "not for forms to imitate, but for experience and feeling to assimilate, for spiritual nourishment beyond that which is offered by the immediate environment or brief present moment."

But these positive trends are gravely endangered by our current mania for slashing enormous highways through the city. "When the American people, through their Congress, voted in 1957 for a twenty-six-billion-dollar highway program," says Mumford, "the most charitable thing to assume about this action is that they hadn't the faintest notion of what they were doing. Within the next fifteen years they will undoubtlessly find out; but by that time it will be too late to correct all the damage to our cities and our countryside, to say nothing of the efficient organization of industry and transportation, that this ill-conceived and preposterously unbalanced program will have wrought."

There is nothing gaseous about this statement or the essay which backs it up and which furnishes the title for this volume. Here Mumford is sharp and precise. While he is just a bit romantic in his longing for nature's virtues in architecture, his discussion of the destructive power of the highway is in no way clouded by any romantic longing for hansom cabs or horse manure. He points rather, to the phenomenal economic waste of sacrificing every other form of transportation to the private motor car. By cutting their freeways through the city, rather than leading them around it, the highway engineers actually expand the evil they mean to overcome. They repeat the mistakes of the railroads. Not long ago we hailed the demolition of the old elevated railroads in New York as a triumph of progress. Now we are told to hail elevated highways as progress. (And there is much clamor for monorails which are nothing but the old El on one track rather than two.)

Our vast expenditures and sacrifice in displaced families and demolished buildings and parks only serve to attract even more cars into the city with further congestion and still more parking lots. This of course strangles business and industry to the point where they must escape to the suburbs. It is, says Mumford, "pyramid building with a vengeance: a tomb of concrete roads and ramps covering the dead corpses of a city." You can see it in Boston and Los Angeles; the madness continues.

There is no one solution but several which Mumford lucidly spells out and which must be applied in combination. We need, for one, a better transportation *system*, not just more highways. Such a system would give us the choice of modes and speeds appropriate to our purposes – including the possibility of strolling at two miles an hour from one point of the city to another to see what is in-between. The argument most frequently used against mass transportation, namely that it has been allowed to decay, is of course, no argument at all. It points precisely to the need for rebuilding it.

Mumford would further have us insist on smaller automobiles for use over short distances. What ever became of the small electric vehicle which was to cart people around town without giving off poisonous fumes? Did Detroit buy up and destroy all the patents?

But most importantly, says Mumford, we must integrate transportation with comprehensive regional planning to guide new patterns of urban growth. Such planning must redress the balance between overpopulated inner cities and underpopulated suburbs by building satellite suburban communities, complete with social, educational and industrial facilities, where people could stay put rather than rush around. Ironically, home loan agencies – both federal and private – still subsidize the wasteful, ill-planned, single-family house on cheap land, ever more remote from the center of the city. This keeps adding to the need for highways as the only means to take its owner to work, his wife to the store and his children to school.

The necessary comprehensive regional planning involves, of course, more than the art of the planner and architect. It cannot be effective without the art of government and politics. In a democracy it must involve all of us. Urban aesthetics follows social purpose just as form, despite semantic disclaimers, still follows function. Mumford has helped to start us thinking and worrying about the social purpose of architecture.

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Fish Out of Water

by Honor Tracy

It is strange how many good writers feel the urge to activity that nature never had in mind for them. The brilliant story-teller will pine to be a full-scale novelist, the major novelist is determined to write at least one five-act poetic drama before he passes on. The eminent scholar sees what a waste of time is biography or *belles lettres* when all along one ought to be a Kerouac or a Burroughs. Now here is Kingsley Amis, whose wordy sprawling novels never fail to bring part of the house down, embarking on the form that not merely calls for discipline, style and technique, but inevitably shows up his own particular faults of slowness and slackness; and further, with a courage bordering on the reckless, abandoning his trusty themes of sex and booze.

My Enemy's Enemy
by Kingsley Amis
(Harcourt, Brace & World; $3.95)

The book contains seven stories of varying lengths and, except for the three war tales, different subjects. Casting about for an adjective to cover the lot, the publisher hit on "diverting" – the last word in the language that applies. Mr. Amis has dropped the farcical manner of *Lucky Jim* and the boisterous one of *Take a Girl Like You*, and whatever he is trying to do it can hardly, except in one instance, be to entertain. Indeed, there is an echoing note of that peculiar solemnity dangerously near to the priggish which the Lucky Jims tend to fall back on when they weary of pulling faces or throwing custard pies. This is not to say that the author himself is either solemn or a prig. If at times he appears to be, it is precisely from that lack of technique, or style, or whatever we choose to call it: a quality that in any case Mr. Amis probably despises, for it is hard to think that a lecturer in English would write as he does except as a matter of principle.

By far the best thing in the collection is *All the Blood Within Me*, which is concerned with the feelings of a man at the funeral of a woman he has loved, innocently and to her husband's knowledge, for thirty years. Here is feeling and tenderness without sentimentality, and apart from one deplorable moment "while what was arguably a smile modified parts of the clergyman's face," Mr. Amis has put his habitual facetiousness away. At times he seems to be describing every funeral that ever was since time began – the ache, the void, the tears, the worn phrases of comfort, the attitudes of the mourners, the clergyman's address, polished smooth with repetition. This last is a little difficult to swallow perhaps, for accustomed as we are to the enlivening independence of Anglican thought, no Christian, whether priest or layman, could wave aside the life hereafter the way that this man did. But that is a single point and on the whole Mr. Amis' observations ring perfectly true.

Yet they remain but observations, with none of the fusion and organization necessary if a work of art is to result. Mr. V. S. Pritchett can get away with this kind of thing, but then he is a wizard. It is rather as if someone had assembled a number of choice ingredients and, thinking no more was needed for the making of a cake, handed them round to the company. The story opens in a colorless way. It dawdles, it meanders, it divagates and tails weakly off at the end. We are left with no clear impression of anything but the accuracy of Mr. Amis' eye and ear and the warmth of his feeling.

Shortened, the piece called *Interesting Things* might furnish an episode for a novel, but it is too rambling and inconclusive to make a story. Mr. Huws-Evans, an inspector of taxes, with amorous intent, takes Gloria, a girl from the office, to a film, dinner and a party. As his conversation is mainly about tax-collecting and the wickedness of razor-blade manufacturers he makes but little headway, and when they get to the party his brother cuts him out in a matter of moments. An admirable thing here is the way in which Mr. Amis feels

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the feelings and thinks the thoughts of a silly and ordinary young woman. This unforced sympathy for and understanding of many kinds of people, especially women, strike me as his great qualities. They get somewhat out of hand in *Moral Fibre,* however, where compassion for a delinquent leads him to pillory the social worker who is trying to help her. Rescuing the fallen is work that only saints can rightly do and Mr. Amis is hard to the point of cruelty on the average stupid woman attempting it. The science fiction piece at the end I will not discuss, as it appears to me literally too foolish for words.

With the three war stories which comprise the main part of the book it may be surmised that the author is merely working off the angers and ennuis of his own experience as a young officer in the Royal Corps of Signals. There is otherwise no accounting for *My Enemy's Enemy* which, laden with technicalities, reads like a diary and has no theme at all. It is the story of a squalid intrigue by a war-weary Adjutant against a junior officer of Italian descent and of the reactions to it of various other officers; but once we have noted that every single character is crude, mean, dishonest or ineffectual, it is hard to see what more Mr. Amis wants to say. *Court of Enquiry* is flimsier still, a petty to-do over a missing item of equipment: and *I Spy Strangers* is unconvincing, with Other Ranks playing at Parliament and making socialist or fascist speeches to which their Major, helpless in the "Strangers' Gallery," harkens with a dismay that turns to horror when later on details of the real election in England begin to come across.

These stories fill more than a hundred pages and the fact that various characters appear in them all suggests that Mr. Amis may once have thought of writing a novel of army life and that here are a few of his notes. If so it is possibly well that he changed his mind, for his view both of the army and of the men who make it up is such that his talents might have been buried altogether. There is not a spark of gaiety here and little of the expected compassion: the people are insubstantial, considered as a rule under a single aspect only and that an unappealing one. The military machine is personified into a kind of bogeyman, whereas in fact it is a decent old monster whose good intentions are all too frequently thwarted by human elements; particularly so in wartime, thanks to a state of affairs one would think Mr. Amis might approve, namely, the unavoidable promotion of able men to ranks for which nothing in their breeding or education has prepared them.

The members of his Officers' Mess belong to the social group which people the Amis country as a whole. Unsure of themselves, fretful, envious, they make grudging subordinates and redoubtable masters. They also cling to a fancy that their accent is all that distinguished them from gentlefolk, a misconception that Mr. Amis seems to share, for he will often indicate that a character is upper-class by a simple reference to accent and give no supporting evidence from speech or behavior at all. The effect is sometimes very funny: we will be told, for example, that a man's accent is "scholarly," whatever a scholarly accent may be, and that he is public school and Oxford, and the next thing we find him remarking, "it used to get on my wick at Catterick, the way some blokes took it out of him about his pal Musso." Is it, I wonder, mere slovenliness, or is it a political gesture of some kind, this letting gentlemen behave and talk like roughnecks? Or does it arise from the loathing of pretension claimed for the author by one critic? As if, incidentally, anyone *liked* pretention. Whatever the cause, it is a technical fault. Trollope may have heartily disliked some of his nobles or churchmen, but he never left us in any doubt of their gentility. Sometimes it looks as if Mr. Amis lacked respect for the very *job* of writing, as if he had a hit-or-miss kind of attitude toward it and a take-it-or-leave-it one toward the reader, surprising in one of his considerable talents.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Wolf Von Eckardt *is preparing a study of how urban renewal is working.* Honor Tracy *has written a new novel which will be published in the fall.* Edward T. Chase *is writing a book on the political implications of technological change.*

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How to Recover from Disarmament

by Edward T. Chase

It would be a shame if feelings of frustrations over Geneva should lessen interest in this strikingly relevant book. Its sober, detailed, almost pedestrian exposition has the effect of making disarmament seem plausible and attainable, quite apart from being imperative.

But what gives the book its chief pertinence is that, in analyzing the massive disruption posed by disarmament, it becomes an enlightening text on the underlying question of the times – how can the United States' competitive-market economic system cope with technological change and more particularly with the problems of structural unemployment and resource allocation such change is creating. Providentially the book appears when Americans are discovering that how to get the country moving again is only answerable in terms of adjusting to such technological change and that new tax, budgetary, manpower and subsidy policies are essential. The chapters by the book's co-editor, Emile Benoit, a Columbia economics professor and project director of the two-year study, *Research in Economic Adjustments to Disarmament*, in themselves shed more light on these matters than anything else published in a long time. Besides writing well – a talent not shared by the book's fourteen other contributors – Benoit displays a remarkable knack for making an interventionist role by the government in the economy appear the natural, even the conservative thing to do. In fact not the least accomplishment of this symposium is the way in which it quietly establishes that we no longer have much choice about more activist Federal guidance *whether we get disarmament or not*, so major are the changes being wrought by demographic and technological developments.

Disarmament and the Economy
Edited by Emile Benoit
and Kenneth E. Boulding
(Harper & Row; $5.75)

The key question that leaps to mind in first confronting this volume is, of course, do these experts think our economy can weather disarmament or that it will founder. Well, the answer is that on the whole they are optimistic. But this is a collection of diverse papers and the responses vary. After observing that disarmament adjustment would be tougher than the reconversion after World War II, Murray L. Weidenbaum, Senior Economist at Stanford Research Institute, writes that "the economic impact of disarmament is likely to be far deeper than indicated by the simple observation that military purchases are equal to only one-tenth of the gross national product." Yet Daniel B. Suits, a professor of economics at the University of Michigan, writes that general and complete disarmament, if scheduled over a 12-year period (the whole discussion is premised on this timetable) and combined with minimal fiscal manipulations, would "create an adjustment problem of a lower order of magnitude than that posed year in and year out by the growth of the labor force and increasing productivity. In fact, the impact of disarmament represents a slight – almost unnoticeable – intensification of the problem of adjustment to economic growth in general." "This is not to say," he continues, "that an adequate economic adjustment to disarmament can be made entirely without friction. It does mean that the problems to be encountered are qualitatively the same, and quantitatively much smaller, than the problems of daily adjustment in a growing economy. The health of the economy depends on how well we manage these persistent problems; the adjustment to disarmament is little more than a detail of the larger adjustment." Implicit in this passage is a faith in the political feasibility, as well as the efficacy not only of substantial government spending and fiscal adjustments to compensate for slackened defense expenditures, but also novel manpower policies of retraining and relocation. I'm inclined to agree with Suits. Yet, I suspect that he probably underestimates the political turmoil his mild "adjustments" will precipitate.

It is quite possible, and doubtless some critics will conclude, that a too-easy optimism pervades this whole symposium. Professor Benoit's case for socially desirable programs to offset the loss of government defense expenditures, his handling of budgetary and monetary problems and his compelling arguments for tax cuts and tax holidays, are so admirably developed that one almost forgets the powerful obstructionist forces in and out of Congress. After all, the prospect of dismantling what *Fund for the Republic* thinkers call "the death industry" and replacing it with good works is a vision calculated to carry away even the most phlegmatic of economists. Under the rubric of "organizing not only a 'moral equivalent of war' but an economic equivalent of defense," Benoit writes:

> "A forward-looking policy such as I have described would visualize the disarmament adjustment problem not as essentially one of finding a place to park the released resources and keep them from becoming a nuisance but, rather, as a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to apply some highly valuable, although specialized, resources to carefully selected alternative uses in which they could contribute more effectively to the highest-priority needs of mankind."

He corrects the widespread misconception that Federal expenditures outside defense have risen in recent years; they have actually declined. Benoit's menu for the post-disarmament feast is familiar enough but his argumentation is original and cogent. He urges selective tax cuts, together with major outlays for commuter and urban transport systems; for general municipal services; for education and public health; for housing; for plant modernization and

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expansion; for expanded research and development for the desalinization and purification of water; for the development of new protein food sources through hydroponics, fish meals and algae; for expanded research in tropical medicine (human energy impairment in the underdeveloped continents is an immense problem); for overpopulation research; for the development of new power units; and for standardized components for easy on-site assembly of schools and houses. He is especially persuasive in arguing that to try to obtain a surplus or even a budget balance when disarmament comes, with its attendant drastically reduced government expenditures, would be disastrous. "This is one of those cases where common sense speaks with a loud voice, but is nevertheless wrong." Why? "Because the downward multiplier offsets of cuts in defense spending are large and even the announcement effects create downward pressures before the decline in actual spending."

If Benoit has a pet scheme it is his "income tax holidays" idea. This would exempt individuals and corporations from taxes for one or more pay periods, the time to be decided upon on the basis of up-to-the-minute analyses and accomplished through Presidential order. The merits of this plan are its easy administration and the great flexibility with which it would endow fiscal policy-making, without the need for the arduous task of changing normal tax or withholding rates.

This is a rich book, hardly possible even to sample in a review. For example, a point that is effectively established by several authors is that, under conditions of structural unemployment (which of course we have now even while the defense industry booms), it is preferable to move plant to people rather than the reverse. This is so because the cost of community facilities like schools and hospitals is high relative to the cost of new plants. Hence the latter should be brought directly to the idle labor pools. Another point is that so esoteric has the defense industry become with its incredibly specialized gadgetry that for the first time in history its spillover to the civilian economy in terms of useful new technologies or trained manpower is becoming increasingly minimal. In a jargon-ridden but fascinating opening essay, "The World War Industry," Kenneth E. Boulding (a co-editor) points up the disturbing fact that in disarmament negotiations the real beneficiaries, ordinary citizens, are only dimly represented by government representatives, while the injured parties – the military pros who are threatened with obsolescence – are directly represented.

It must be noted that the authors' reasoned assumption that at least a dozen years will be required to effect any general disarmament is crucial to the book's overall argument. The world's armaments industry costs between $100 and $120 billion annually, with the United States accounting for around $52 billion of it. American disarmament phased over 12 years and involving a yearly cutback of $5 billion would come to less than one percent of our GNP – not a staggering amount even given multiplier effects.

But the book's hopeful tone really does not rest on these statistics. There is a subtler and more significant cause – a tacit conviction of the contributors – that modern economics has been developed so that it can now be a powerful instrument for guiding man's material destiny according to plan, if it were given half a chance.

Coming

Hannah Arendt's Eichmann

an evaluation

by Bruno Bettelheim

ART

Prints at the Library

The 19th National Exhibition of Prints is at the Library of Congress through Labor Day and the jurors were the printmakers Michael Ponce De Leon, Benton Spruance and Edmond Casarella. They've done an extraordinary job. There isn't a dud in the show, and among the 96 prints there's an astonishingly high proportion of pieces that lift up your heart.

One reason for this excellence, I think, is that printmaking, unlike painting, still has technical, applicable standards. It is still possible to ruin a print because you don't know what you're doing. In painting, for some years now, that has been impossible; you don't decide what you're doing until it's done and probably not before it's been explained to you by your friendly neighborhood rhetorician. Anything that happens, including having the pasted paper elements of a collage unglue themselves and collect at the bottom of the frame behind the glass, can be explained as, for example, bodying forth the ephemerality of art and life. This has not been possible in prints because if you don't know what you're doing and if you don't keep awake while you're doing it, nothing will happen at all, or so much will happen as to have the same effect: the plate won't print or the stone will crack.

Interestingly enough, in the show at the Library, the effect of the survival of technical standards is to permit printmakers, and print fanciers for that matter, a much wider stylistic freedom than is possible to painters for whom, in theory, everything is permitted. Because a painter is no longer required, say, to prime a canvas, to use canvas at all, to practice drawing, to compose a picture, to relate to life, in practice he had better not try any of those outmoded procedures. The relationship between freedom and necessity in printmaking is the other way around. Because the printmaker is bound by certain technical necessities, he is, in practice, freed by the observance of those necessities to do anything he chooses.

The point is illustrated by two of the best-known printmen in the show, Gabor Peterdi and Adolf Dehn. Peterdi is probably this country's closest approach to Stanley Hayter in terms of purposeful experiment and the deliberate extending of the bounds of print-

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making. Through his teaching at Yale, through the writing of his superb advanced text on printmaking, and especially through his own practice, Peterdi his discovered and made available to other artists a whole range of new ways of printmaking, especially in the areas of combining disparate media and of achieving color intensities. He is always technically stimulating and, in my own view, surpasses Hayter by reason of a greater professional concern with life outside the laboratory.

Dehn comes from a completely different tradition – the American one we associate with John Sloan, George Bellows, Peggy Bacon and Reginald Marsh, among others. Several decades ago, when Dehn's lithographs first began achieving notice, the print element entered into their being only spiritually, as it were. They were democratic, cynical, funny, shrewd, observant, even vulgar. Their point was contained in the human quality the artist perceived and in the relationship between that perception and the quality of the drawn line, itself quietly witty. Lithography as such had for Dehn the same value it had in the 19th Century; through it an artist could create a set of multiple original drawings.

In the exhibition at the Library of Congress, the two men have reversed their positions. Peterdi is represented by "Resurrection," a line composition in the classic intaglio methods of engraving and etching. The line here is quite something. A skeleton lies horizontal, just beneath, or not quite beneath, the earth; entangled with the bones are the roots of a plant which rises, vertical, into empty air. The quality of the bones is, in line, identical with that of the new growth and there isn't a gesture toward tonality in the picture; it's all line and completely convincing. Nor is this return from experiment a unique example. Peterdi has been exhibiting equally linear and equally powerful work for several years. Nor is there any "retrogression" implied; all the extended range of the experiments is here compressed and included in the classic methods.

With Dehn, it's the other way around and, like Peterdi, he has been doing his new work for several years now. "Sacred Ride" ventures into color and into textured tonality. The subject is from Dehn's travels in India: a veiled woman sits upon a plodding bullock, both emerging faintly from the surrounding night. The old, linear Dehn is completely gone. The whole presence is tone and texture. Color is very sparing, a kind of ancient, dried-out-by-the-sun red. The woman and her beast, the color says, are from some very old wall painting or simply from some very old way of life. Technically, Dehn has moved into the current effort to give the lithograph a distinctive look of its own, but that is the least thing important about the print. This is Western perception of the Eastern value and it is human reverence for human enduring. A far cry from Dehn's earlier perception of the human comedy? Not really; more a deepening of it; and from that deepened perception has come the reaching out for an extended means of expression. The point is that both Peterdi and Dehn are completely free to follow wherever their human sensitivity leads them, precisely because they have submitted to the technical discipline of their art.

The range of technique is as extraordinary as that of manner. There's even a mezzotint, "Vermont Mountain Night" by Judith Foster, in which that rare medium is used with gentle command to convey the mystery of moonlight in the woods. Dean Meeker shows a color serigraph with all the power that he, almost alone, has been able to find in that, for most artists, too pliable medium: "Horsemen" is five riders in free blue-black lines across a splash of light gray on blue-gray and against a red which, like the ground, manages to have an etched quality in the color. Different again is the relatively conventional color lithograph by Georges Schreiber. "Martha's Vineyard" looks down on the placid water, the green fingers of land, the arch of cloud and the flurry of gulls and boats to compose in the manner of a Callot "Temptation" in a proscenium-arched stage. Distance is quietly but firmly measured and color is beautifully harmonized. A different approach to nature is in Karl Shrag's opulent lithograph, "Rocks, Trees, and Clouds," in which those subjects are simplified by the artist and rearranged in bold black lines through glowing yellow and purple.

Our old friend, humanity, is all over the show: Warrington Colescott's lively color intaglio of kids on bikes; Lasansky's brooding portrait; Michael Mazur's dramatic etching and aquatint of an asylum interior; Jack Bookbinder's all but melodramatic lithograph of a recipient of bad news; and there are many others.

As of right now and as a group of artists, the most important work in America is being done in prints and few are aware of it. Incidentally, the Library of Congress does plan to circulate the show after Labor Day; if you're an institution and interested, write the exhibitions division.

FRANK GETLEIN

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THEATER

A Night in the Brig

The Brig
by Kenneth H. Brown
(The Living Theater)

Instead of a curtain, there is a stretch of barbed wire; behind this, a yard; beyond the yard, a compound, filled with sleeping prisoners; around the compound, a narrow corridor, divided by four white lines. It is 4:30 a.m. in the Marine Corps Brig at Fuji, Japan. The guards are talking softly while the men snore. Suddenly, one guard enters the compound, and drags a newly arrived "maggot" to his feet: he stands at attention by the turnkey's desk, and after being humiliated, threatened, and pounded in the belly, is sent back to bed. Time for reveille. A garbage can cover clatters on the deck, and the overhead lights go on. The men scurry to their feet and sound off by the numbers (they have no names). The Warden addresses them, fondling his billy: "Good morning, kiddies, this will be another glorious day in the history of the United States Marine Corps." The prisoners shout their reply: "YES, SIR."

They put on their fatigues and make their beds at top speed, looking neither up nor down: if their heads bob, they are punched in the stomach. To move from the compound, or anywhere within the confines of the brig, they must loudly request permission to cross the white line: if they touch the line, or speak too softly, they are punched in the stomach. Walking or lounging is prohibited – prisoners must stand at attention, and when ordered to move, run everywhere at a dogtrot, or take a punch in the stomach. They must never speak except in reply to the guards, giving standard answers to all commands. They must never touch the person of the guards; they must submit to search when returning to the compound; they must stand at attention reading the Marine Corps Manual upon completion of every task – any infraction of the rules, however slight, brings a punch in the stomach, and sometimes the blows come for no reason at all. As the day proceeds, and the routine grows more frenzied, the action turns into a brutal ballet danced by terrorized men under the direction of particularly sadistic dancing masters, their guards.

The Brig, which now holds the stage at The Living Theater, is not a play but a punishment; and I don't suppose I will ever spend a more disagreeable evening in the theater. Instead of organizing a dramatic work, Kenneth H. Brown, the nominal author, has chosen to function as an absolutely mute witness to a typical day in the infernal regions, the only departure from this terrible realism being his compression of time. Similar representations of penal servitude – Dostoevsky's *House of the Dead*, Solzhenitsyn's *Ivan Denisovich*, or (to take an American example) the stockade sequence in *From Here to Eternity* – have contained dramatic incidents: *The Brig* has none whatever. Since communication among the prisoners is forbidden, the dialogue is limited to barked commands and bellowed requests to cross the white line; and since all individual action is prohibited, the only conflict in this relentless documentary comes when a prisoner cracks up and is carried out in a strait jacket. Visually, there is plenty of excitement in the way Judith Malina has drilled her company into a stolid automatism vibrating in rhythms of pain; but aside from this, there is nothing to break the awful monotony of the proceedings, where even brutality and violence soon grow dull and routinized. One leaves the theater with a headache and jangling nerves, having shared all the agonies of the prisoners except their physical torments.

Still, if you can take it, *The Brig* will supply you with direct experience of American totalitarianism, and first-hand knowledge of concentration camp techniques: the universal terror, the gratuitous violence, the performance of meaningless tasks, the deadening of instinct. *The Brig* will show you, too, the essential totalitarian conversion: how, through the theft of personal identity, a human personality is transformed into a mindless machine. The men have become numbers, and are treated like things: they are "maggots" and "insects" with less significance than a swab or a shovel. They move like robots through a series of mechanical rituals, and even after they have been bludgeoned to the ground, they must rise to attention wearing the same expressionless mask. Dehumanized by fear, depersonalized by cruelty, their only escape is into nullity, the hope of being zero. "My name's not six – it's James Turner," screams the man who cracks up; but only he has the temerity to assert his true identity, for only a lunatic can claim to be human in this mad and frightful world.

The Brig, then, is an activist play, designed – through the use of documentary realism – to arouse responsibility, shock, and indignation over human distress; and to measure the work by standards of "good theater" is to lapse into a kind of inhumanity oneself. Yet, inevitably, this is precisely the way *The Brig* has been treated by the daily

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reviewers. It is true that Howard Taubman has called for a Presidential investigation, while adding this interesting gloss on penal torture: "Unless [the prisoners] are guilty of murder or treason, their punishment is in outrageous excess of the crime" (the *unless* has a lovely humanitarian ring). But Taubman is worried less about the prisoners than about the performers ("think how tough a way this is for an actor to earn a living"), and notes that *The Brig* is "a far cry from drama." So is Auschwitz a far cry from Broadway.

As for Walter Kerr, he has a more sophisticated method of turning away his face:

> "It has clearly been 'author' Kenneth H. Brown's intention, as it has certainly been director Judith Malina's achievement, to harass, bedevil, irritate, numb, and appall an audience with exactly those things that harass, bedevil, etc. those who have been unlucky enough to land themselves in this sort of hoosegow. . ."

he writes, thus proceeding to draw the reader's sympathy from the victims to the audience. Harass and bedevil indeed – and bewitch, bother, and bewilder to boot. "Critic" Kerr – to use the deplorable, depersonalizing adjectives he borrows from *Time* magazine – has also learned from *Time* how to spread a fudgey facetiousness over anything authentic ("hoosegow" in this context is particularly insensitive); but if he were less concerned with entertaining his readership, and protecting the sensibilities of his musical-going audience, he might have had a more human response to this play. Still, I come more and more to believe that we are all in the brig, our instincts deadened, our identities shattered, by the way we write, think, and talk about human misery.

Hannah Arendt has illustrated, in her brilliant book on Eichmann, how a nation is inured to totalitarianism through the corruption of language: euphemisms come between the thinking mind and the heartless horror; the phrase softens the implications of the act. With this ruthless documentary, The Living Theater confronts you with the thing itself, trying to break through that crust of indifference which Americans have developed in the face of evil; and the mere staging of the work becomes an act of conscience, decency, and moral revolt in the midst of apathy and mass inertia. Whether the revelation of these conditions will affect that bureaucratic mechanism which creates them, I cannot say. But if you can bring yourself to spend a night in *The Brig*, you may start a jailbreak of your own.

Robert Brustein

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The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

Censors and Schools

Sirs:

Christopher Jencks' review of the Nelson and Roberts book, *The Censors and the Schools*, does an injustice to the book and to the numerous valiant and successful battles against censorship activities by teachers and their professional associations. On the local and state level, victories over irresponsible critics – spearheaded by teachers, superintendents, or school boards, or by all three – are reported to me every month and sometimes weekly.

Nelson and Roberts tell of the successful defense of academic freedom in regard to censorship in Meriden, Connecticut; Englewood, New Jersey; Scarsdale, New York; Evanston, Illinois; and other places. Likewise, there have been the censors who have been repulsed in New York, Illinois, North Carolina, California, and many other states. I can think of only two states – Mississippi and Texas – where the censors made much headway and here their efforts were blunted by courageous efforts of public school and educational association people. On the national level, the NEA's Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities is constantly giving assistance to state and local education associations and individual teachers in their successful efforts to cope with this problem.

Nelson and Roberts tell of some appalling injustices and defeats of the constructive forces in this area. Having made an annual study of these conflicts, I can say that almost every year there have been many more victories for academic freedom in the textbook area than there have been set-backs by the censors.

Edwin W. Davis
National Education Assn.

In reply:

My review of *The Censors and the Schools* was not written to convey the impression that everyone who tries to censor a textbook succeeds. The issue raised was whether the failure of the censors could be attributed to what Mr. Davis refers to as "the numerous valiant and successful battles against censorship activities by teachers and their professional associations." Such successful battles have taken place, but contrary to what Mr. Davis implies, Nelson and Roberts do not describe them in their book.

In Meriden, the school board never had the slightest intention of taking the would-be censors seriously, and its chairman denounced them vehemently at the start of the controversy. For anything more than a verbal battle to have developed, the censors would have had to try to oust the board. They didn't. The whole struggle, then, consisted of a hearing in which the school board, having already made up its mind on the issue, listened to testimony by the censors and by teachers.

In Evanston, the "battle" consisted of a half-dozen critical references to the Evanston Township High School in E. Merrill Root's *Brainwashing in the High Schools*. If these criticisms re-

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ceived any local support, Nelson and Roberts do not tell us about it. On the contrary, they tell us that the books which Root attacked had already been submitted to a "lay advisory council" for review, and had been approved. It was hardly surprising, then, that Lloyd Michael, the principal of the Evanston school, should have brushed off Root's criticisms as absurdities.

In Scarsdale, Nelson and Roberts do not even mention teachers as having played a part in the debate. The controversy they describe was between a "Committee of Ten" which objected to books by Howard Fast, Louis Untermeyer and Shirley Graham, and another citizens committee which supported academic freedom.

In Englewood, the story may have been somewhat different, but Nelson and Roberts have not provided their book with an index, and I am unable to recall any but casual references to the feuds there.

In at least three of Mr. Davis' four instances, then, the so-called battle was never joined: the school board supported the texts from the beginning, and no effort was made to oust the board. No educator was asked to put his reputation at stake, much less his job. There were no opportunities for teachers to show what Mr. Davis calls valor and courage, even if some were longing to do so. As for the teacher organizations, Nelson and Roberts do not even mention them.

Mr. Davis also says that censors have made headway only in Texas and Mississippi. Yet Nelson and Roberts' book is full of instances in which books have been dropped locally, or teachers fired for assigning controversial volumes. These may seem mere passing aberrations to Mr. Davis. But the result, as Nelson and Roberts note, is that the American Textbook Publishers Institute (an organization which includes almost all leading publishers) has to issue a pamphlet warning its members "to avoid statements that might prove offensive to economic, religious, racial or social groups or any civic, fraternal, patriotic or philanthropic societies in the whole United States." In other words, textbooks must stick to the American consensus, "offending" no one. To me, that is a sign that censors have made headway, not only in Mississippi and Texas but in Manhattan.

Mr. Davis concludes that "almost every year there have been many more victories for academic freedom in the textbook area than there have been setbacks by the censors." I am sure this is true, but I am surprised that Mr. Davis should take much satisfaction from that. It is as if one were to write that "almost every year more lynch-mobs are dispersed without violence than are allowed to hang presumed criminals." So long as any community, anywhere, is engaging in censorship, teachers everywhere will fear for their jobs, and publishers will hesitate to print controversial texts. So long as this is the case, the quality of education will suffer – far more than it suffers when classes are too large, or buildings are overcrowded. If the NEA is prepared to use "sanctions" to solve the latter problems in Utah, why not use them in Mississippi and Texas where they are really needed? The trouble, I fear, is that the NEA leadership knows it cannot count on its members in these states – or any other – to make sanctions work.

Christopher Jencks

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Helping Haiti

Sirs:

Reading your editorial note: "Haiti – Who Will Shoot Duvalier?" in the issue of May 18, I wish to recall to your readers the relentless and successful fight of *The New Republic* against the American occupation of Haiti between 1915 and 1934. While this occupation built up "the record in Haiti that no one wishes at this time to recall," the record of *The New Republic* in Haiti is quite different.

Haitian intellectuals remember with gratefulness the articles by Raymond Leslie Buell published in *The New Republic* during the occupation. They are deeply grateful for Buell's defense of the Haitian cause, and in many conversations I had with Haitian writers like

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Jean Fouchard and Etienne D. Charlier and particularly with the Haitian historian Dantès Bellegarde, *The New Republic* was quoted with high praise.

Sabine Gova
Assistant Professor
Saint Peter's College
Jersey City, N. J.

Find the Reader

Sirs:

I protest! In your May 18 note "Find the Typical Reader," you name physicians, lawyers, architects, officials, scientists, clergymen, journalists, businessmen and students, but you do not mention workers. I am a bricklayer and have been reading *The New Republic* since it started.

Z. Polivnick
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Victims of Gerrymandering

Sirs:

Robert Novak's review (May 18) of Neil MacNeil's book on the House of Representatives contains statements which should not go unchallenged.

On the Committee System: is it really true that "the entire committee system comes under liberal attack"? Clearly, the attack has been on the system's well-known seniority feature not on the system itself.

On what Novak calls "the *canard* that the House has a conservative bias because of overrepresentation for rural tories": the quickest glance at the population and location of Congressional districts shows that the vast majority of overrepresented districts all over the country are rural. Novak apparently agrees with MacNeil that Northern urban areas are not underrepresented and that conservatives are the chief victims of underrepresentation in the South. While it is true that many suburban areas, North and South, are underrepresented, it is equally true that the cities – politically, the liberal forces of both regions – remain at a severe disadvantage. The only major exception is the state of California.

Novak says that conservative upper-income voters of Southern metropolitan areas are "the worst victims." He chooses to ignore the indisputable fact that in the South the strength of liberalism, far more than of conservatism, is metropolitan-centered – in such outrageously-underrepresented places as Atlanta, Nashville, Memphis, Houston, San Antonio, Miami, New Orleans, etc. (Incidentally, if Dallas County – cited as an example of underrepresented Southern conservatism – had the two house seats it deserved instead of just one, its liberal community might not be completely submerged among the supporters of Bruce Alger.)

Outside the South, metropolitan areas and/or liberal voters are victimized in state after state, either by underrepresentation, gerrymandering, or both. Severe underrepresentation cuts the political influence of city-dwellers (and in some cases, of their suburban neighbors as well) in Connecticut, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Wisconsin, Oklahoma and Washington. In these and other states, the beneficiaries are the overrepresented rural districts. In New York, Ohio, Iowa, Kansas and elsewhere, skillful gerrymandering of district boundary lines is quite effective in increasing Republican (usually conservative) representation.

It should be incumbent on a reviewer either to check the accuracy of obviously controversial statements made by an author, or else to refrain from endorsing such statements as if they were incontrovertible facts.

David I. Wells
Political Department, ILGWU

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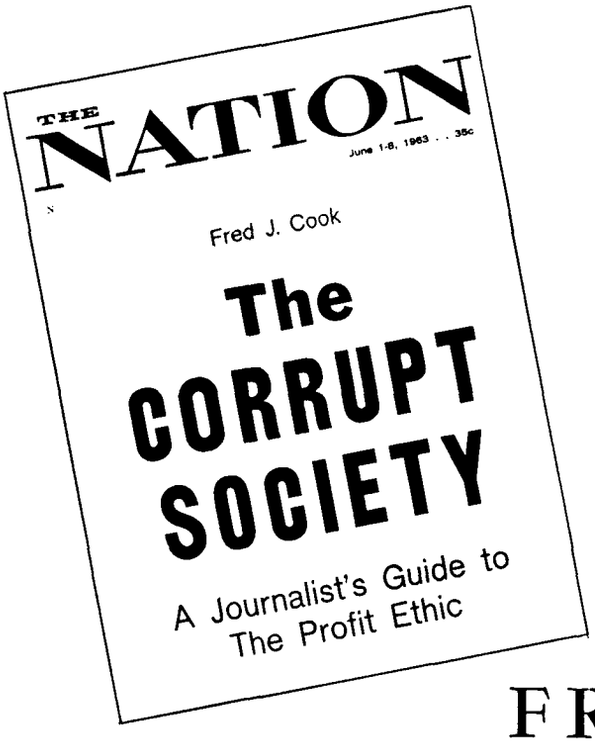

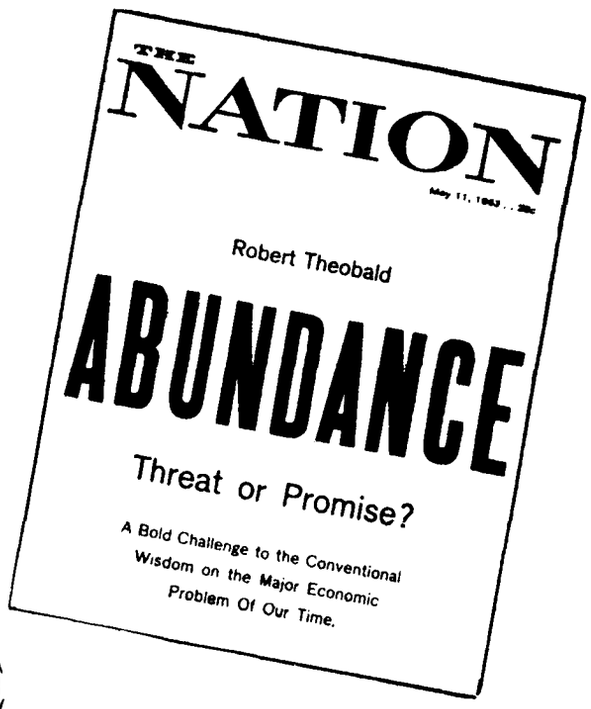

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